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ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THEN AND NOW.

From The Journal of Commerce.

ALAS for those poor radicals who were in high favor with the Administration a year ago, but whose sincere desires to be faithful to principle have led them to sustain the Cleveland Convention! They are visited with the vials of indignation poured out by the very men who were only too happy to embrace them one short year ago. There was Wendell Phillips, who was received on the floor of the United States Senate with distinguished consideration, the Vice-President coming down from his seat to welcome him, and who was also warmly treated at the Presidential mansion, and greeted with smiles and applause in all the Administration circles. Now they call him all manner of names. Fool, fanatic, and various similar epithets are applied by the very men who delighted to do him reverence. There is a funny attempt made at ridiculing the Convention at Cleveland, by intimating that both sexes were represented there. This is not true in fact, but it will of course strike every one with amusement that this ridicule is bestowed by the very men who a few weeks ago were employing Miss Anna Dickinson, a ferocious young woman, to abuse Gen. McClellan and other good men, and who were, like Mr. Lincoln himself, delighted to bestow their warmest praise and honors on this female fury. By the way, what has become of this young woman's friends in the Loyal Leagues? We have a list of names of gentlemen who are responsible for her, indorsing her patriotism, eloquence, noble devotion, and all that sort of thing. Do they intend to invite her to speak in New York on the Presidential campaign? Or do they propose to wait till she is induced to favor the Baltimore ticket? With what supreme disgust and shame must each and every one of those gentlemen look back to his ridiculous appearance when he gave his name to that disgraceful exhibition of a woman in public, and sat on the platform by her side while she scolded and fumed, in the virago fashion, to the delight of a semi-civilized audience!

But will ridicule answer just now to put down the Clevelanders? It is true that the most accomplished men at billingsgate and vituperation are to be found among the radicals, but are they not somewhat divided just now, and is it not just possible that there may be as much force of that sort on one side as on the other? We are inclined to think it will be hard to find the match of Wendell Phillips for scathing ridicule as well as eloquent denunciation, and if he is roused he will give the Administration men some pretty severe admonitions. He always draws a house, and the peculiar circumstances of his present position will give him large and curious audiences, to whom, we suspect, he can discourse more ridicule and sharp satire than the whole Administration press and oratory together can equal.

But it is a subject of strange interest, this sudden and fierce change which has taken place in the regard of the Administration press for many men who were saints in their calendar a few short weeks ago. What are the opinions, the advice, the directions and teachings of such fickle, changeable advisers worth? Were they right when they bade us regard these persons as pure patriots, or are they right now, when they tell us to regard them as fools and villains? If they are right now, is it not just possible that there may be a taint of folly and of fraud in the men with whom these condemned people were lately so intimately associated?

The serious truth is that neither branch of the radical party, now divided into two pieces, can claim any superiority in character over the other from anything in the past. The platform of the Clevlanders is more honest than the men at Baltimore will dare build, and for the future it is more than likely that the Fremont party will be regarded as more safe and conservative than the Lincoln party. We may look with some confidence to the former for much in the way of revelation of secret wrong doings by the leaders of the Administration party during their season of mutual confidence. Conservative men can afford to wait and profit by the wisdom they may gain.

Only a few weeks ago we incurred the severe animadversions of some gentlemen for refusing to favor a meeting at which they had invited a certain gentleman to speak to the New York public. It is a funny fact that that gentleman is a Fremont leader now, and his New York admirers are disgusted that they had anything to do with him. If they had taken our advice at the time they would be happier men now. It may be considered tolerably well settled that the advice of conservative men is best worth following in these times.

INTRUSION OF NEGROES AT A FAIR.

AN EMEUTE AT THE FAIR—NEGRO EQUALITY PRACTICALLY TESTED.

From The St. Louis Republican of May 20.

THE mania for the negro so wholly possesses many persons in official and public station now-a-days that it is difficult to conduct any desirable popular enterprise to a termination without having him intruded in some offensive and injurious manner. The Sanitary Fair now in progress in this city, of all things, should have been entitled to exemption from such mischievous and meddling intrusion, because it is the conjoint work of all parties, ages, and sexes, banded together in the interest of patriotism and humanity. Persons of all political professions, by common consent, have subordinated all mere partisanisms, for the time, to the higher motives of comforting and saving the sick and suffering soldier. But withal the Fair has not been allowed an escape from this disturbing element, and we are this morning forced to describe how one or two fanatical factionists undertook to produce discord where harmony and general good feeling had previously existed. The particulars of the act, as we learn them from some of the Fair Managers, are briefly these:

A certain Rev. James S. Gloucester, a negro minister, who is President of the Freedmen's Association in New York, reached the city yesterday, bearing a letter of introduction to Mr. E. W. Fox. The letter represented that the bearer had been active in New York in securing contributions to the Freedmen's department of the St. Louis Fair, that he desired to come out here, witness its progress, and be of further service if in his power. Another negro minister, either from New York or Brooklyn, accompanied him, and was recommended perhaps in the same letter. They first saw James E. Yeatman, President of the Sanitary Commission, who referred them to Mr. Fox. By Mr. F. they were referred to some one else, who procured season tickets for their use. This third party did not like the embarrassment and responsibility of dealing with the visitors, and rid himself of them by turning them over to the Rev. Mr. Nelson, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of this city, who is in official position at the Fair, as Chairman of the Freedmen and Refugee Department. Here their wanderings ended.

The reverend gentleman had no desire to pass them to other hands, and gave them a cordial and hospitable reception—so hospitable indeed that he walked them straightway into the large refreshment saloon known as the Café Laclede, seated himself with them at one of the tables, and proceeded to order a dinner for their mutual comfort.

The Café Laclede, we may state, is a leading feature of the Fair, in which thirty or forty of our most respectable matrons and young ladies lend their services to wait upon all who enter and order refreshments. Many of them manifested their indignant and outraged sense by tears, and others by taking their departure on the instant from the place. Mr. Fogg, Mr. Blackman, and other Fair committee-men remonstrated with Dr. Nelson, and the lady in charge of the refreshment department for the day sent him a note requesting him to at once remove himself and companions. Dr. Nelson at last yielded, and went away, though not until he had received sharp words from one or two of the committee-men, with injunctions to take the negroes to his own house and entertain them. He had some backers in the matter, one of whom was Mr. Truman Woodruff, the city auditor; but nearly all those who witnessed the incident were ardent in denouncing it as a gross insult to the ladies whose gentle and graceful presence has so constantly adorned that and nearly all other departments of the Fair.

The Executive Committee, and all those who compose the responsible directory, owe it to these ladies, to the public, and to themselves to unite in a card denouncing this affair, and denying Dr. Nelson's officious act in unstinted terms. It is better to punish a few fanatics by making such publication than disgust a whole community by omitting to do so. The Fair has gone on well—it was proving an astonishing success. It can be made successful to the end if the Executive Committee will only be true to themselves, true to the holy cause in which they are engaged, by manfully rebuking an insult to the wives and daughters of St. Louis, the parallel of which cannot be found anywhere in this country.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND SLAVERY.

From The Journal of Commerce.

As a matter of curiosity we should be glad, if we had the room, to give the long paper in which the Old School Presbyterian General Assembly, quite ingeniously, fails to express any clear opinion on the subject of slavery. Doubtless the document is what it was meant to be, cloudy, turgid, and unintelligible. There was a time when the Presbyterian Church spoke in tones and words as clear as the apostolic voice. The enunciations were wont to be such as young children could understand, and no man could mistake when they denounced sin. But no man can tell whether by this long and ingenious document they mean to say that their slaveholding members in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Virginia, and elsewhere, are sinners for slaveholding or not. It is a document which is not creditable to the noble old Church from which it emanates, because it is a trumpet of uncertain sound. If the Assembly meant to declare slaveholding sinful, they should have imitated the Presbyterian boldness of old time and spoken in brief, plain words. If they did not mean to declare it a sin, then two-thirds of this document is idle and wicked trifling. Its meaning, if it has any, is that slaveholding is a sin, but public expediency may excuse the sin, and this is surely no orthodox doctrine.

This much, however, may be said of the action, that it puts another wedge of disunion into the social system of the nation. The Churches were the great bond of social unity. The Presbyterian Church can never be united again, and the relations of North and South will be just so much the more dissevered. In fact, this document will tend more to the permanent disunion of Northern and Southern Presbyterians than would a bold denunciation of slavery. For the latter might, in the changing affairs of men, win converts in even the slave States. But the present attempt to utter an opinion is so weak, uncertain, and hesitating, so manifestly based on the political doctrine of expediency, that it will always be subject to the charge of political influences, and will have no permanent value in the authoritative records of the Church. By another year the Assembly will be compelled to lay this aside and make a clean breast of it one way or the other. O, for the brave old days when men had courage to speak plainly, and tell the world where they stood, and what was their faith!

Selections.

SOME EDITORIAL NOTES.

From The Independent.

WE set down some hurried notes of a visit to the Baltimore Convention and to Washington—not as parading the travels of our unimportant self, but to state several gratifying indications of the changed and changing spirit of the time.

One of the greatest of these evidences was the simple fact that our travelling companion was no other than that fanatical, heretical, and incendiary gentleman, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison of Bunker Hill—whose company in the cars a few years ago would not have rendered a journey southward eminently enviable; to whom, however, on this late journey, as far South of Mason and Dixon as we could get, all hats went off, all hands were thrust in welcome, and all hospitable honors shown—in the midst of which the bewildered man stood a modest and meek-minded Conservative before. those more fiery Radicals on whom the new pentecost has fallen with its tongues of flame. Not having been in Baltimore since he was there imprisoned, thirty-four years ago, and never in his life having been in Washington (honest man!), his journey was full of strange emotions at every turn. Condemned as a criminal for speaking in a slave city against slavery, he returned to that city to find it so far regenerated that to-day Baltimore is ready to give a larger proportional vote than Boston for universal liberty. The court in which Mr. Garrison was tried and sentenced is now presided over by a Radical Abolitionist—Judge Hugh L. Bond, one of the most indefatigable and influential Unionists in the State, who, to gratify our curiosity, hunted up from the old records of the Court the time-yellowed papers of indictment against Mr. Garrison, which that gentleman, putting on his spectacles, perused with eyes as full of merriment as we noticed in Horace Greeley's on being dismissed from his contempt of Judge Barnard's Court. As we had threatened to put Mr. Garrison into his old cell, and shut him up for a night, we were disappointed to learn that the city authorities, not foreseeing how they were spoiling a good historical incident, had torn down the old jail and built a new one in its place—where, however, not the opposers but the abettors of slavery and treason are now confined! Thus the gallows which was built for Mordecai is used for hanging Haman! Eight or nine of the original jurymen who gave the verdict against Mr. Garrison are still living, and Judge Bond jocosely threatened to summon them all into court, that Mr. Garrison might forgive them in public! We bargained in advance for a photograph of the scene.

If any Northerner supposed that a Presidential Convention held in Baltimore would necessarily lack something of the free atmosphere which four years ago was so bracing at Chicago, one day in that changed Southern city, whose streets were not in vain baptized by the blood of Northern men, was sufficient to dispel the idea. The spirit of loyalty in the North nowhere manifests itself so pungently as in the Border States, where the two parties divide themselves like Jews and Samaritans, having no dealings with each other—families and friends closing their houses against their own blood-kindred and life-long associates—loyalists hanging out flags which disloyalists will go tiresomely out of their way rather than walk under. For instance, we were told of a family of Unionists whose house was between two houses of rebels—the Union house keeping out a flag reaching all across the street—whereupon the rebel families would walk round the whole square to get at each other without passing under the intervening flag! The leaders of the Radical party in Baltimore—such men as Bond, Streeter, Mathews, Stewart, Stirling, and others—are among the most plucky and invicible hard-workers for the good cause whom we have anywhere met. Henry Winter Davis, the leader of the Maryland Radicals in Congress, deserves the thanks of all loyal men in the North for his noble, uncompromising advocacy of Liberty and Union. The chief stumbling-block which these men find in their way is Montgomery Blair, whom they daily and hourly charge with thwarting the progress of freedom in that State by using his official position as a member of President Lincoln's Cabinet to pull down what they are laboring to set up, and to hold up what they are seeking to pull down. Another of the hatreds of Maryland is Mr. Seward, who, in his late appearance at the New England Kitchen of the Baltimore Fair, was so far the victim of an unhappy habit as to have disgraced himself and insulted his friends, leaving his name behind him as a by word and reproach—a fact which would not be here mentioned, except that during a storm some one ought to give warning when a drunken man's hand is on the helm.

The Convention was unfortunately called too early. This was, and is, the judgment of its wisest members. Even now that the nominations are made, there is no general determination to begin the campaign yet. "Nominations," said a distinguished Senator of the United States, "ought never to be made until a campaign is ready to be opened in good earnest." This is good sense. The Democratic Convention will probably be postponed (as the Republican ought to have been) till the first of September, until which time, probably, neither side will hardly begin the Presidential struggle. Who has any heart to-day for a quarrel over the ballot-box while the great events now pending in Virginia, on which hang the fate of the Republic, remain undecided? Just now, the main thought in every loyal heart is, God give victory to Gen. Grant!

As each delegation assembled in caucus before the assembling of the Convention, and came to a vote as to a candidate, the general result was a foregone conclusion before any general balloting was had. It was ascertained beforehand that Mr. Lincoln would be renominated, leaving the Vice-Presidency an open question, to be afterward settled in open Convention. The conclusion concerning Mr. Lincoln was accepted in advance not only by his friends, but by his opponents. For instance, the entire delegation of Maryland would have preferred some more Radical man than Mr. Lincoln; but they said, "The majority are in his favor, and we will make no trouble." Other opponents said, "We will concede to the Conservatives the candidate, if they will concede to the Radicals the platform." It is not to be denied that the outward and apparent unanimity for Mr. Lincoln gave no fair expression of the strong undercurrent of opposite sentiments existing in the minds of individual delegates. If the sympathies of these members had been united on any one man in opposition, and not divided among several, we believe Mr. Lincoln would not have secured the nomination. The main argument which rallied to him the Radical men of the Border States was this: The rebels having declared that they will never submit to Abraham Lincoln, therefore they shall be made to submit to this man, and to no other.

The main business left to the open Convention was the making of a platform and the selection for the Vice-Presidency. Senator Morgan, of New York, on calling the great assembly to order (consisting of nearly five hundred delegates and two thousand spectators), made a brief speech, which, in its reception, showed three significant facts; first, at the mention of Fremont's name not a breath was heard in all the house; second, at the mention of Lincoln's there was general applause; but, third, at the suggestion of a Constitutional Amendment forever forbidding slavery, the audience broke into uncontrolled enthusiasm, members springing to their feet and cheering, and the galleries waving a cloud of white handkerchiefs. This was the temper of the Convention throughout its sittings—the enthusiasm for Mr. Lincoln being altogether subordinate to the greater welling up of feeling whenever the extirpation of slavery was mentioned. Having seen many anti-slavery meetings in our life-time, we never saw one more unanimous and demonstrative than the Baltimore Convention.

Among the chief test questions was the one whether the Radical or the Conservative delegation that claimed to represent Missouri should be admitted, on which Mr. George William Curtis made a gallant speech, holding every ear in the house (a triumph in itself, where so few speakers could be well heard), rewarded by the admission of the Radical party amid the cheers of the assembly. Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana were admitted to seats and votes, notwithstanding the solemn and weighty protest of Thaddeus Stevens, who foresaw danger in making a precedent by admitting as States what may afterward prove to be no States. But, since some of the claiming States were not admitted (though we could see no good reason for the admission of some and the rejection of others where all were equally doubtful), happily no precedent is established. Mr. Maynard and Parson Brownlow made sympathetic appeals in behalf of Tennessee, which, aided by the loud clapping of Western men's hands, carried the day. Indeed, large deliberative bodies take oftentimes the character of popular assemblies, and decide many questions according to the mere balance of noise.

The Committee appointed to draft a platform assembled in a private room, where each member in turn gave his individual opinions as to what the platform should contain, after which these opinions were delivered over in bulk to a sub-Committee for embodiment on paper. The final draft was written mainly by Mr. Henry J. Raymond, of this city, who, with a clear, strong voice, pronounced them to the Convention—each resolution eliciting cheers on the reading, and all adopted by acclamation at the end. Their chief feature of value was the proposed amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery. Although, in some less important respects, they might have been improved, yet their essential soundness on the main question carried them through without a critical suggestion or a dissenting voice.

After the adoption of the platform, a strife arose as to who should sieze the honor of moving the nomination of Mr. Lincoln—a wrangle which, to an impartial spectator, appeared little less than disgusting, and in which many well-known men engaged to their own discredit and to the confusion of the house. A good deal of the customary and inevitable bad taste of political Conventions was exhibited when the delegates, during the roll-call of States, arose to announce their votes for Abraham Lincoln, which many were unwilling to do without a spread-eagle speech, exciting the impatience of the house—making a series of grotesque performances, during which one member, bent on accomplishing a little speech, announced himself for Abraham Lincoln the second Savior of the world! Missouri, in casting her vote first for Gen. Grant, was somewhat howled at by other parts of the house and could with difficulty get a hearing by reason of the clamor; but the chairman of her delegation, with the help of his good Western lungs, fought his way manfully through the noise, achieving the attention and good will of the house. This vote was afterward withdrawn and given to Mr. Lincoln, that his nomination might be recorded as unanimous.

Then came the battle for the Vice-Presidency—nominations being made in open Convention, the chief candidates being Hamlin, Dickinson, and Johnson. If Maine had not early deserted Hamlin (setting an example to other and less near friends), he would have been chosen. Then Dickinson, whose name was introduced in a short and electric speech by Lyman Tremaine, would have carried, except for the fact that the Thurlow Weed party in the New York delegation were unwilling to give the Vice-Presidency to their own State, inasmuch as New York might thereby have less claim to a seat in the next Cabinet or to the honor of the next Presidential nomination. Dickinson was defeated by the same ill-will which defeated Wadsworth in the contest against Horatio Seymour for the Governorship. Andrew Johnson was peculiarly acceptable to the Tennessee delegation, evoking a speech from Mr. Maynard, whom the house always heard with respect; and when Pennsylvania changed her 52 votes from Hamlin to Johnson, the scale was turned. As there had been more struggle over the Vice-Presidency than the Presidency, there was more shouting over Andrew Johnson's nomination than over Abraham Lincoln's. Indeed, this greater noise over the lesser candidate may have been the reason why Mr. Lincoln at Washington heard of Gov. Johnson's good fortune before he heard of his own! It is known in political circles that Andrew Johnson is a firm believer in the necessity of eradicating slavery, and is a firm opponent of the President's Amnesty Proclamation.

On Mr. Lincoln's reception day, after the nomination, his face wore an expression of satisfaction rather than elation. He made a more favorable appearance, both in manner and dress, than in his late unfortunate exhibition before his eloquent and pungent critic, Miss Anna Dickinson, who, being a woman, could not help noticing a wound in the good man's stockings. His honest countenance habitually justifies the expression of mingled humor and sadness which Mr. Carpenter, the artist, has caught in the large picture which he is now painting at the White House, of the President and his Cabinet. Mr. Lincoln's reception of Mr. Garrison was an equal honor to host and guest. In alluding to our failure to find the old jail, he said, "Well, Mr. Garrison, when you first went to Baltimore, you couldn't get *out*; but the second time, you couldn't get *in*." When one of us mentioned the great enthusiasm at the Convention after Senator Morgan's proposition to amend the Constitution abolishing slavery, Mr Lincoln instantly said, "It was I who suggested to Mr. Morgan that he should put that idea into his opening speech." This was the very best word he has said since the proclamation of Freedom. The President, therefore, and his party of supporters, stand now pledged to the complete eradication of slavery from the land; and they will be held to the pledge.

In concluding these rapid and random notes, written amid the dust of travel, let us say that in analyzing the Administration at Washington, it is impossible not to see that, next to the President, the two heads which guide and control the government, which supply it with good advice against false counselors, which give it energy where others contribute weakness, which look sagaciously toward to-morrow where others see only the half of to-day, are Edwin M. Stanton and Salmon P. Chase—both of whom are placed in Mr. Carpenter's picture on the right hand of the President, and the other Cabinet members on his left, as if the artist had wittingly set the useful men on one side, and the useless on the other! We regret to say that some of the members of this group are not on speaking terms with each other. Mrs. Lincoln occasionally opens the door of the artist's room, and asks, "Mr. Carpenter, how do you get on with your Happy Family?" We hope that some members of the Happy Family will come to grief with the next Administration. Meanwhile, among the many good wishes which everywhere arise for the health and welfare of the President of the United States, we believe that the truest friends of the country, if they could get insight into the interior workings of the government, so as to discriminate between its strong men and weak, between its earnest men and triflers, would pay a willing debt of gratitude to the indefatigable and indomitable statesmen who, the one as Secretary of War, and the other as Secretary of the Treasury, uphold the hands of the President as Aaron and Hur upheld the hands of Moses while the great battle on the plain waxes toward victory.

THE VOICE OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

[ANDREW JOHNSON addressed a mass meeting at Nashville, a few days since. We give an extract from his speech.]

I HAVE always understood that there is a sort of exclusive aristocracy about Nashville which affects to contemn all who are not within its little circle. Let them enjoy their opinions. I have heard it said that

"Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow."

This aristocracy has been the bane of the slave States; nor has the North been wholly free from its curse. It is a class which I have always forced to respect me, for I have ever set it at defiance. The respect of the honest, intelligent, and industrious class I have endeavored to win by my conduct as a man. One of the chief elements of this rebellion is the opposition of the slave aristocracy to being ruled by men who have risen from the ranks of the people.

This aristocracy hated Mr. Lincoln because he was of humble origin, a rail-splitter in early life. One of them, the private secretary of Howell Cobb, said to me one day, after a long conversation, "We people of the South will not submit to be governed by a man who has come up from the ranks of the common people, as Abe Lincoln has." He uttered the essential feeling and spirit of this Southern rebellion. Now it has just occurred to me, if this aristocracy is so violently opposed to being governed by Mr. Lincoln, what in the name of conscience will it do with Lincoln and Johnson? (Great laughter.) I reject with scorn this whole idea of an arrogant aristocracy. I believe that man is capable of self-government, irrespective of his outward circumstances; and whether he be a laborer, a shoemaker, a tailor, a grocer.

The question is whether man is capable of self-government. I hold with Jefferson that government was made for the convenience of man, and not man for government. The laws and constitutions were designed as instruments to promote his welfare. And hence, from this principle, I conclude that governments can and ought to be changed and amended to conform to the wants, to the requirements and progress of the people, and the enlightened spirit of the age (loud applause). Now if any of your secessionists have lost faith in man's capability of self-government, and feel unfit for the exercise of this great right, go straight to rebeldom, take Jeff. Davis, Beauregard and Bragg for your masters, and put their collars on your necks.

And here let me say that now is the time to recur to these fundamental principles, while the land is rent with anarchy and upheaves with the throes of a mighty revolution. While society is in this disordered state, and we are seeking security, let us fix the foundation of the government on principles of eternal justice which will endure for all time. There is an element in our midst who are for perpetuating the institution of slavery. Let me say to you, Tennesseeans and men from the Northern States, that slavery is dead. It was not murdered by me. I told you long ago what the result would be if you endeavored to go out of the Union to save slavery, and that the result would be bloodshed, rapine, devastated fields, plundered villages and cities; and therefore I urged you to remain in the Union. In trying to save slavery you killed it, and lost your own freedom. Your slavery is dead, but I did not murder it. As Macbeth said to Banquo's bloody ghost,

"Never shake thy gory locks at me—
Thou canst not say I did it."

Slavery is dead, and you must pardon me if I do not mourn over its dead body; you can bury it out of sight. In restoring the State leave out that disturbing and dangerous element, and use only those parts of the machinery which will move in harmony.

Now, in regard to emancipation, I want to say to the blacks that liberty means liberty to work and enjoy the fruits of our labor. Idleness is not freedom. I desire that all men shall have a fair start, and an equal chance in the race of life, and let him succeed who has the most merit. This, I think, is a principle of heaven. I am for emancipation for two reasons: first, because it is right in itself, and second, because in the emancipation of the slaves we break down an odious and dangerous aristocracy. I think that we are freeing more whites than blacks in Tennessee.

I want to see slavery broken up, and when its barriers are thrown down, I want to see industrious, thrifty emigrants pouring in from all parts of the country. Come on! We need your labor, your skill, your capital. We want your enterprise and invention, so that hereafter Tennessee may rank with New England in the arts and mechanics, and that when we visit the Patent Office at Washington, where the ingenious mechanics of the free States have placed their models, we need not blush that Tennessee can show nothing but a mouse-trap, or something of about as much importance. Come on! We greet you with a hearty welcome to the soil of Tennessee. Here is soil the most fertile in every agricultural product; a delightful and healthy climate, forests, water-power, and mines of inexhaustible richness; come and help us redeem Tennessee, and make her a powerful and flourishing State.

But in calling a Convention to restore the State, who shall restore and reëstablish it? Shall the man who gave his influence and his means to destroy the Government? Is he to participate in the great work of reorganization? Shall he who brought this misery upon the State be permitted to control its destinies? If this be so, then all this precious blood of our brave soldiers and officers so freely poured out will have been wantonly spilled. All the glorious victories won by our noble armies will go for naught, and all the battle-fields which have been sown with dead heroes during the rebellion will have been made memorable in vain.

Why all this carnage and devastation? It was that treason might be put down and traitors punished. Therefore I say that traitors should take a back seat in the work of restoration. If there be but five thousand men in Tennessee loyal to the Constitution, loyal to freedom, loyal to justice, these true and faithful men should control the work of reorganization and reformation absolutely (loud and prolonged applause). I say that the traitor has ceased to be a citizen, and in joining the rebellion, has become a public enemy. He forfeited his right to vote with loyal men when he renounced his citizenship and sought to destroy our government. . . . . My judgment is that he should be subjected to a severe ordeal before he is restored to citizenship. A fellow who takes the oath merely to save his property, and denies the validity of the oath, is a perjured man, and not to be trusted. Before these repenting rebels can be trusted, let them bring forth the fruits of repentance. He who helped to make all these widows and orphans, who drape the streets of Nashville in mourning, should suffer for his great crime. . . . . Treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished and impoverished. Their great plantations must be seized and divided into small farms, and sold to honest, industrious men.

The day for protecting the lands and negroes of these authors of rebellion is past. It is high time it was. I have been most deeply pained at some things which have come under my observation. We get men in command who, under the influence of flattery, fawning and caressing, grant protection to the rich traitor, while the poor Union man stands out in the cold, often unable to get a receipt or a voucher for his losses (cries of "That's so!" from all parts of the crowd). The traitor can get lucrative contracts, while the loyal man is pushed aside, unable to obtain a recognition of his just claims. I am telling the truth. I care nothing for stripes and shoulder-straps. I want them all to hear what I say. I have been on a gridiron for two years at the sight of these abuses. I blame not the government for these wrongs, which are the work of weak or faithless subordinates. Wrongs will be committed under every form of government and every administration. For myself, I mean to stand by the government till the flag of the Union shall wave over every city, town, hill-top and cross-roads, in its full power and majesty.

A WORD FROM M. D. CONWAY.

[A friend, who has strong claims upon our courtesy, asks us to point the following extract from one of Mr. Conway's letters to *The Commonwealth*. It is colored by the extravagance which usually mars the productions of the writer, and illustrates his tendency to make wide and hasty inferences from isolated and exceptional facts, without fairly weighing all the circumstances belonging to the case. The recollection of his correspondence with the Confederate envoy, Mason, should teach Mr. Conway to be modest in his judgments and sparing in his rebukes of other Abolitionists, especially of so old and tried a soldier of freedom as Mr. Garrison.]

I LACK words to describe to you the indignation and horror which have been felt and expressed here [in England] making the judicious grieve and exciting the sneers of the hostile, as from lip to lip has crept the story of the murder by our government of the black sergeant, who so heroically died to secure justice to his comrades deprived of their just wages—involving as it did their position as soldiers. Tom Hughes declared it nothing less than "diabolical." We have heard of scoundrels pardoned in California for fitting out ships against us; of one scoundrel released in Virginia to go and give information at Richmond of our plans; of deserters, spies, and traitors, every where released: but this one black man who had God and right on his side was shot! God may pardon Mr. Lincoln for that, but the human heart never can nor will. The man under whom that could happen can never be the President of the United States again, any more than a pterodactyl can fly through the streets of Boston. It shows Mr. Lincoln utterly, brutally ignorant of the position in which he stands before the world. At a party the other evening where some Southerners had been invited, the negro race being under discussion, Robert Browning told this story as his contribution to an opinion as to the moral greatness of which that race is capable. Involuntary admiration burst from the Southerners as well as others. Alas, that the black background of that heroic, dying negro, should be painted of the baseness of our own country! When Gov. Wise hung "the gamest man he ever saw," John Brown, what did we say? What should we say now when President Lincoln shoots a man whom poets quote in Europe as the representative hero of the day? I solemnly ask Mr. Garrison, in the name of many of his friends here, why *The Liberator* is silent about this, and similar things, which are occurring in America? If the things now done in Louisiana, Natchez, and the case quoted, had been done under Buchanan, would not *The Liberator* have thundered until the White House trembled! But now if we find even the records of such baseneses in *The Liberator*, they are in odd corners, and comments appear only in correspondence—where any paper might have them. How can the free press of the North hope to change such things unless it fights boldly and by name the reactionists of the government? How can you, dear *Commonwealth*, hope that Mr. Lincoln will do his duty to the negro unless your Senators will arraign him from their seats for his misdoing? And how will your Senators be brought to do this unless you boldly arraign them by name in your columns for not doing so? The failure of a newspaper to be brave and bold at any cost of friendship or anything else, is one end of a chain of facts of which the other end is an undecided, feeble President, and consequently the reign of Bankees and other humbugs, at least long enough to undo any good that somebody, by a casual oversight at Washington, has managed to do.

THE NATION'S JUDGMENT.

From The N. Y. Tribune.

BY the votes of a decided majority of the Representatives of the People, it has been officially adjudged that slavery, having incited and tenaciously upheld a gigantic conspiracy for the destruction of our National existence, ought to die the death of the wicked, and that the Federal Constitution should be so amended as never to authorize or tolerate its revival in any part of the Republic. The Constitutional amendment to this effect originated in and passed the Senate by an overwhelming majority; but the House yesterday failed to concur—a decided majority, but not the requisite two-thirds, voting in the affirmative. The check thus encountered was caused solely by the election of a majority of the members in 1862 instead of 1863. Had they been chosen at the last regular Election in each State respectively, the result would have been affected as follows:

From *Maine*, Mr. L. D. M. Sweat votes to uphold slavery. He was chosen in September, 1862, by 127 majority. *Last* September, his District went against him by over 1,000 majority.

From *New Hampshire*, Daniel Marcy was chosen by the 1st District in March, 1863, by 80 majority in 24,038 votes. He is a Copperhead of the South Carolina variety. *Last* Spring, his district went against him by over 2,300 majority; but he votes on for slavery.

From *Connecticut*, James E. English votes to uphold slavery, as he was chosen to do. He had 1 030 majority in April, 1863; but his District gave 346 majority against his party *last* April.

From *New York*, Messrs. Moses F. Odell, Elijah Ward, Homer A. Nelson, John A. Griswold, and Francis Kernan, were chosen as Democrats in November, 1862, and all but Mr. Griswold habitually vote on the side of slavery. [Mr. Odell, we are glad to see, voted right yesterday.] Each of them was nominated and elected a Democrat; but the revolving year brought them severally into minorities in their respective districts *last* November, amounting in the aggregate to 4,000; while Messrs. Winfield and Ganson, who together had over 5 000 majority in '62, were sustained in '63 by majorities amounting in the aggregate to less than 500. Yet all these, but Messrs. Griswold occasionally and Odell semi-occasionally, persist in voting to uphold slavery.

From *Pennsylvania*, Messrs. Wm. H. Miller, Alex. H. Coffroth, Arch. McAllister, John L. Dawson and Jesse Lazear were chosen as Democrats in Oct., 1862, by majorities adding up about 2,500. *Last* October, in a most desperate struggle and upon the heaviest vote ever polled in the State, the district of each went our way, by an aggregate majority of 4,000; yet these members keep on voting for slavery just as though they had not seen the last returns.

The case of *Ohio* is most flagrant of all. In the absence of at least Fifty Thousand of her gallant sons in the defense of their country, and under the influence of National disaster and discouragement in the Autumn of 1862, the State was carried by the Copperheads, who polled an aggregate majority of 5,577; carrying *fourteen* of the nineteen Congress Districts, by majorities ranging from 36 upward. *Last* Fall, the panic had passed and the soldiers voted, giving an aggregate Union majority of over *Sixty Thousand* on the Home vote, and nearly *Forty Thousand* on that of the Soldiers—the aggregate being 101,099, on the heaviest poll ever known. Every District but *two*—Le Blond's and Finck's—gave Union majorities on the *Home* vote *last* October; add the Soldiers' vote, and there is a majority against slavery in every District but Le Blond's, and perhaps in that also. Yet Ohio gives fourteen votes habitually for fastening the Slave Power on the country forever; and will continue to do so till the People can get at their misrepresentatives. Those votes have just turned the scale against the Constitutional Amendment.

Indiana and *Illinois*—but especially the latter—evince changes as real if not so signal since the choice of their present members as the States above enumerated; but the data are less complete in their cases than in the foregoing. Suffice it that, had the People been represented in the House in accordance with the latest expression of their views, the Constitutional Amendment would have triumphed by far more than the required two-thirds, and the legal and formal eradication of slavery from the republic would have been substantially assured.

The self-styled Democrats have thus made up the great issue for the approaching canvass. They have chosen to take their stand and fight their fight on the maintenance and perpetuation of human slavery, "sad cause of all our woe." If they succeed, slavery is to infest and poison the body politic for an indefinite future period; if they fail, it is to be constitutionally overthrown and abolished. Men who in ordinary affairs seem capable of imbibing an idea without the aid of surgery gravely ask, in Congress and elsewhere—"Why not let the States manage their internal affairs respectively?"—as if slavery had not proved itself the deadly, implacable foe of the Union, and thus incurred the penalty of treason. To vote to uphold it now, is like voting to pension Lee, proffer the Chief-Justiceship to Jeff. Davis, and send Longstreet Embassador to France. We thank those through whose action, however intended, the choice between the life of slavery and that of the republic has been so clearly brought home to the business and bosoms of the American People.

The list below is correct according to the record in the Washington papers. Had every member been present, the division would probably have been, Yeas 107, Nays 75—making a full House of 182 members. It would have required 122 votes to have made the two-thirds necessary to carry the measure. The list below should be preserved for reference, as there will be frequent occasion to know who voted to "break every yoke and let the oppressed go free," and who, on the other hand, voted to perpetuate and defend the accursed system which is the mainspring and support of this gigantic rebellion. The line between liberty and slavery is here distinctly drawn, and we mean that the people shall know just where their representatives are to be found. The proposition voted upon was as follows:

SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

YEAS—95.

Wm B Allison, Iowa,	Francis W. Kellogg, Mich.
John B. Alley, Mass.	Orlando Kellogg, N. Y.
Oakes Ames, Mass.	DeWitt C. Littlejohn, N. Y.
Lucien Anderson, Ky.	Benj. F. Loan, Mo.
Isaac N. Arnold, Ill.	John W. Longyear, Mich.
*James M. Ashley, Ohio,	James M. Marvin, N. Y.
Joseph Batly, Pa.	Joseph W. McClurg, Mo.
John D. Baldwin, Mass.	Walter D. McIndoe, Wis.
Portus Baxter, Vt.	Samuel F. Miller, N. Y.
Fernando C. Beaman, Mich.	James K. Moorehead, Pa.
James D. Blaine, Me.	Justin S. Morrill, Vt.
Jacob B. Blair, W. Va.	Daniel Morris, N. Y.
Henry T. Blow, Mo.	Amos Myers, Pa.
George S. Boutwell, Mass.	Leonard Myers, Pa.
Samuel H. Boyd, Mo.	Jesse O. Norton, Ill.
Aug. Brandagee, Conn.	*Moses F. Odell*, N. Y.
John M. Broomall, Pa.	Charles O'Neill, Pa.
Ambrose W. Clark, N. Y.	Godlove S. Orth, Ind.
Freeman Clark, N. Y.	James M. Patterson, N. H.
Amasa Cobb, Wis.	Sidney Perham, Me.
Cornelius Cole, Cal.	Frederick A. Pike, Me.
John A. J. Cresswell, Md.	Hiram Price, Iowa,
Thomas T Davis, N. Y.	Alex. H. Rice, Mass.
Henry L. Dawes, Mass.	John H. Rice, Me.
Henry C. Deming, Conn.	Robt. C. Schenck, Ohio,
Nathan F. Dixon, R. I.	Glenni W. Scofield, Pa.
Ignatius Donnelly, Min.	Thomas B. Shannon, Cal.
John F. Driggs, Mich.	Ithamar C. Sloan, Wis.
Eph. R. Eckley, Ohio,	Green Clay Smith, Ky.

Convention which appointed them, and shows, how naturally, among any class of men, the leadership gravitates into the ablest hands. It is not stated that any colored delegate actually presented himself at Baltimore; but if either of these men did, the Convention must have been superior to any republican meeting I ever had the good fortune to attend if it found them unworthy of its membership.

While writing on this subject, I should like to make one suggestion more—being for the present invalided from active duty, and having only my pen left. A leader appeared in *The Times* of yesterday, which was very ably written, and yet seemed to me very unjust; its aim being to oppose Wendell Phillips's proposition to give the franchise to the Southern freedmen. The ground was there asserted, and justly, that it would be absurd to assume these uninstructed negroes as well qualified to judge of political questions as "lawyers, scholars, soldiers, and statesmen"; but it would seem to be time enough to discuss that problem when lawyers and scholars are anywhere in a majority. The point is not whether the freedmen may not come in among the select few, but whether their votes may not be counted in among those of the uninstructed many. After nearly two years of intimate intercourse with the colored people of South Carolina, I must express the opinion that there is a point of fitness for political action in which the mass of our immigrant population surpasses them, while there are four points of decided superiority on the side of the freedmen.

1. They are natives of this country, and take a pride in the fact.

2. Their personal experience gives them a marvelous comprehension of the main political question now at issue, in regard to which most foreign immigrants are either ignorant or perverted.

3. Their desire and aptness to learn are to those of Irish immigrants, at least, as four to one. The writer speaks with confidence on this point, having formerly had much experience in adult evening schools at the North.

4. They are not under the control of any priesthood.

It seems obvious, therefore, that all the arguments which would lead to the exclusion of the Southern Freedmen from the franchise would lead, far more strongly, to the exclusion of all foreign immigrants. If an ignorant foreigner can vote to oppress an ignorant negro, it seems not unreasonable that the negro should be allowed a vote to defend himself.

Yours respectfully, T. W. HIGGINSON,
Col. 1st S. C. Vols. (33d U. S.)

Newport, R. I., June 9.

SOUND DOCTRINE IN DELAWARE.

MR. SMITHERS REBUKED.

From The Wilmington (Del.) Inquirer.

THE House of Representatives has added a new laurel to its brow by the repeal of that measure of iniquity, the Fugitive Slave law, which has for years shamed us in our own hearts and disgraced us in the eyes of the world. A nation's thanks is due them for the noble act, and a nation will recompense them for their fidelity to liberty and humanity. We hailed the action of Congress with joy, and ran our eyes down the reports for the pleasure of seeing the name of Delaware's Representative recorded on the side of right and freedom; judge then of our indignant surprise to find the name of N. B. Smithers recorded amongst the nays along with Cox of Ohio and Wood of New York, while the Representatives of our sister slave State, Maryland, stood boldly forth in the roll of honor. Gladly would we blot this page from our State's history, for this will record Delaware's unanimous vote in our National Council against the repeal of this bloodhound act, which is not only a disgrace to our nation but to humanity. We had schooled ourselves to bear the shame of our Senators' votes, and should have thought nothing of the matter, as the whole country well knows that they do not represent the views of the people of this State; but that Mr. Smithers, who was so recently elected, and elected by men opposed to the whole iniquitous system of slavery, and who only wait the proper opportunity to throw it off entirely, that he should record his vote in favor of the most iniquitous act which was ever wrenched from an unwilling people by the minions of slavery, is so totally unexpected, that the blow falls with double force, and we tell him boldly that he has proved recreant to the trust which those who elected him reposed in him, and has disgraced our State forever by recording its vote indelibly on the page of history, in favor of the perpetuation of the most unjust and iniquitous law that ever disgraced the statutes of a free nation, and put to shame their boasted love of freedom.

POLITICS IN MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS, June 12, 1864.

THE political elements of this State are undergoing another shaking up. The Radical Germans have resolved to stick to Fremont through thick and thin; while the American portion of the party, under the lead of the Missouri *Democrat*, are supporting Lincoln and Johnson. The rejection of the Blair delegates at Baltimore, the triumph of the anti-Blair party in Congress and in Maryland, has satisfied the American portion of the Radicals that President Lincoln will be educated up to a Radical stand-point after awile. The German papers have read their late American friends out of the party, including all the Baltimore delegates, and the Missouri *Democrat*. They threaten to scratch the name of every man from the Radical State ticket who supports Lincoln. So that the fight is no trifling matter. But the State ticket is not endangered. Col. Fletcher, the Radical nominee for Governor, is a moderate Fremont man. The American Radicals are more charitable than their German allies, and they will support Fletcher in spite of his Fremont proclivities.

The most disgusted set of politicians in the country may be described as the Missouri Claybanks. They are terribly bitter on the Baltimore Convention. They ran around like madmen the day the news came, and denounced it as an outrage. Now they pretend the Radicals are in a trap, but they must support Lincoln by voting a Radical electoral ticket, or not at all. The action of Congress in throwing out Gen. Blair from the seat he held as Representative of the First District has further embittered them, and it is currently reported that the General will be nominated for Governor on the Copperhead ticket. But as most of the Blair men are office-holders, they must support Lincoln; and yet to act with any portion of the Radicals is galling.

The effect of these differences and the independent action of the Copperheads will be to reorganize and revolutionize parties in this State. It is even talked among the Copperheads of sending a delegation to Chicago to support John C. Fremont for the Chicago nomination; but that won't go down. All sorts of political bargains, divisions of offices and spoils are heard of, but there is nothing on this score determined yet. No State presents so many curious political phases as this. —*Tribune.*

THE PRESIDENT IN PHILADELPHIA.

ON Thursday June 16, the President of the United States came from Washington to Philadelphia to visit the great Sanitary Fair. He was received with every demonstration of welcome. In the evening, he sat down to a repast in the Fair Restaurant, where, in response to a complimentary toast, he made the following speech:

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

I suppose that this toast was intended to open the way for me to say something (laughter). 'War, at the best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in its magnitude and in its duration, is one of the most terrible. It has deranged business, totally in many localities, and partially in all localities. It has destroyed property, and ruined homes; it has produced a national debt and taxation unprecedented, at least in this country. It has carried mourning to almost every home, until it can almost be said that the "heavens are hung in black." Yet it continues, and several relieving coincidents have accompanied it as the war progresses, which have not been known, as I understood, or have any knowledge of, in any former wars in the history of the world. The Sanitary Commission, with all its benevolent labors, the Christian Commission, with all its Christian and benevolent labors, and the various places, arrangements so to speak, and institutions, have contributed to the comfort and relief of the soldiers. You have two of these places in this city—the Cooper-Shop and Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloons (great applause and cheers). And lastly, these Fairs, which, I believe, began only in last August, if I mistake not, in Chicago; then at Boston, at Cincinnati, Brooklyn, New York, at Baltimore, and those at present held at St. Louis, Pittsburg, and Philadelphia. The motive and object that lie at the bottom of all these are most worthy; for say what you will, after all the most is due to the soldier, who takes his life in his hands and goes to fight the battles of his country (cheers). In what is contributed to his comfort when he passes to and fro, and in what is contributed to him, when he is sick and wounded, in whatever shape it comes, whether from the fair and tender hand of woman, or from any other source, is much, very much, but, I think there is still that which has as much value to him—he is not forgotten (cheers). Another view of these various institutions is worthy of consideration, I think; they are voluntary contributions, given freely, zealously, and earnestly, on top of all the disturbances of business, the taxation and burdens that the war has imposed upon us, giving proof that the national resources are not at all exhausted (cheers); that the national spirit of patriotism is even stronger than at the commencement of the rebellion.

It is a pertinent question often asked in the mind privately, and from one to the other, when is the war to end? Surely I feel as deep an interest in this question as any other can, but I do not wish to name a day, or month, or a year when it is to end. I do not wish to run any risk of seeing the time come, without our being ready for the end, and for fear of disappointment, because the time had come and not the end. We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it never will until that time (great cheering). Speaking of the present campaign, Gen. Grant is reported to have said, I am going through on this line if it takes all Summer (cheers). This war has taken three years; it was begun or accepted upon the line of restoring the national authority over the whole national domain, and for the American people, as far as my knowledge enables me to speak, I say we are going through on this line if it takes three years more (cheers). My friends, I did not know but that I might be called upon to say a few words before I got away from here, but I did not know it was coming just here (laughter). I have never been in the habit of making predictions in regard to the war, but I am almost tempted to make one. If I were to hazard it, it is this: That Grant is this evening, with Gen. Meade and Gen. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and the brave officers and soldiers with him, in a position from whence he will never be dislodged until Richmond is taken (loud cheering), and I have but one single proposition to put now, and, perhaps, I can best put it in form of an interrogative. If I shall discover that Gen. Grant and the noble officers and men under him can be greatly facilitated in their work by a sudden pouring forward of men and assistance, will you give them to me? (Cries of "yes.") Then, I say, stand ready, for I am watching for the chance (laughter and cheers). I thank you, gentlemen.

The President having concluded, various sentiments were given and received with enthusiasm.

One gentleman proposed three cheers for Col. Bowman, *who broke the back bone of slavery in Maryland.* This was responded to in the most enthusiastic manner.

Cheers were given for Gen. Grant, Gen. Sherman, Gen. Hooker, and all the generals of the army.

Mr. Lincoln advanced a step, and, order being quickly restored, he said, "Gentlemen, cheer for the army and the navy, the soldiers and sailors." This was responded to with patriotic enthusiasm.

He subsequently visited the Union League House on Chestnut street, where he made another brief speech in response to an address of welcome by Daniel Dougherty. He returned to Washington on Friday.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1864.

Notice.—The usual Fourth of July Celebration, at Framingham Grove, by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will not take place this year.

THE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE REPEAL OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

IF Consistency be a virtue, the Democratic party assuredly is virtuous. If it be a Jewel, as the proverb hath it, it is one which that party, though it be "like the toad, ugly and venomous," yet wears in its head. There have been times, since this war began, when it was thought that this virtue had departed forth from the party and that it was shaking in its life-long fidelity to slavery. But it was not the party from which the virtue went out. It was the members of the party who had ceased to cherish the virtue that went out from it. What is left of the Democracy, after the Hegira of such prophets as Butler and Dickinson and Dix and their followers, remains firm in its old faith, true to its established traditions and unshaken in the pro-slavery loyalty which has for thirty years been the badge of all its tribe. The consistency of the Democrats in their devotion to slavery has been eminently vindicated on two recent occasions. In the House of Representatives the Democratic members unanimously, without a single perfidious Abdiel deserting their ranks, voted against the repeal of the Fugitive Slave laws of 1793 and 1850. And again with but four recreants they moved in solid column against the Amendment to the Constitution for abolishing and forbidding forever slavery by the organic law of the land, thus defeating the measure for this time, by preventing the necessary two-thirds vote. So much higher was their reverence for Slavery than for the People that they would not consent that the latter should be allowed a lawful voice as to its continued existence. This is in fair consistency with the history of the party, though it never had so distinct an opportunity for giving it expression. Though the Voice of the People be the Voice of God, it would not do to run the risk of what it might say about slavery.

This action of the Democratic Congressmen we take to be conclusive as to the platform of the party at the approaching Convention. It was not taken, we may be sure, without consultation and concert. There was a time in the early days of the rebellion when the Democrats seemed inclined, as a party, to punish the slaveholders who had driven them forth from the paradise of office into the cold wilderness of opposition by destroying the fetish they proposed to set up the more firmly by Rebellion, over the ruins of their old and true allies. And a certain honorable minority of the party left it and walked with it no more. But what remained of it hardened their hearts and became seven-fold more the slaves of Slavery than before. Of this state of mind this action is a proof. And forth from it will proceed the issues of the next election, as far as the Democratic party is concerned. And it is well that it should be so. It is better that the question to be decided at the next election should be, whether slavery is to live or die, and that it should be so unmistakably the issue that the wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot fail to see it. We do not fear the result, if this be made plain enough. We do not believe that any division could be made, or could be continued, in the ranks of the genuine enemies of slavery which should endanger the reconstruction of the Union with slavery as its corner-stone—for its corner-stone it must be, if it be not rejected of the builders utterly and forever. The danger has been, and still is, that the pro-slavery venom of the Copperheads should be hid in some flowery deceit of phrase, and that the innocent and unwary might be infected unawares and the life of the nation stung to death through their unwitting help.

This action of the Democrats in Congress, we apprehend, must put an end to all expectations, if any such have been seriously entertained, of a coalition between the Radicals of Cleveland and the Copperheads of Chicago. The banns of that marriage, if it ever was contemplated as a possibility, have been forbidden. Had any such plan been entertained by the men who give the key-note to the Democratic party, the proposed Amendment to the Constitution would have been passed without objection and that difficulty removed out of the way of coalition. That measure having been rejected at Washington, we may be sure that it will not be revived at Chicago and made a component part of the platform to be constructed [illegible] between the Radical party and the Democrats is an obvious impossibility. The rank and file of the Cleveland Radicals, of course, could not abandon their position and their candidate, for worse ones devised at Chicago. And it would be an insult to Gen. Fremont to suppose for an instant that he could be capable of denying the testimonies of the last ten years of his life by accepting a nomination, without the principles he has already announced as his claim to the choice of the people. But neither he nor his friends will be exposed to any temptation from that quarter. The union which will be effected at Chicago will be between more congenial souls. The robust villany of Peace Democracy will receive to its embrace the timid frailty of pro-slavery Conservatism, and a fitting marriage will be make them twain one. But that the Chicago Democrats will accept the anti-slavery plank of the Cleveland platform is as impossible as that the Cleveland Radicals should consent to stand on the one to be built at Chicago with their plank left out.

The action of Congress in the matter of the Constitutional Amendment and the repeal of the infamous Slave-catching Acts, will be accepted by the people as most worthy service, even if the two measures should not prevail at this time. They have been delayed in an unjustifiable manner, but much will be forgiven to an honest attempt to free the nation from these crimes, and everything to its successful accomplishment. We cannot doubt that the Senate will consent to the House amendment of its Act of Repeal—an improvement, which an Amendment not always is—and kidnappers no longer be protected by the national arm. And we trust that absentees enough may be collected, when Mr. Ashley's motion to reconsider the rejection of the Amendment resolve comes up for decision, to overbear the Copperhead minority by a two-thirds vote. We do not much expect this result and are by no means confident, could it be done, of the requisite three-fourths of the States being found regenerate enough for this righteousness. But it will be a glorious agitation of the subject everywhere, which would prepare the way for the deliverance which cannot be long delayed. But there is action which lies in the power of simple majorities of both Houses, which we have been urging for months together with these two, and which will be as practically effectual as the Amendment. And that is the Abolition of Slavery everywhere, with compensation, if thought best, to loyal masters, by act of Congress, as a military necessity. This done and carried into effect, there will be no difficulty in amending the Constitution so as to make slavery impossible hereafter, at our leisure. Let the two Houses leave no legal slavery alive when they adjourn, and they will have done to death by the same blow Copperheadism and Rebellion, which live only in its life.

MR. GARRISON'S IMPRISONMENT IN 1830.

THE LEGAL PAPERS IN THE CASE.

To Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard.*

I THINK you will be glad to put on record in your columns a correct transcript of the legal papers in the famous case of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON's imprisonment in Baltimore in 1830, where, for the offence of telling the truth against a slave-trader, he was kept seven weeks in a cell, until Arthur Tappan, hearing of the case, paid the fine and costs and opened the jail-door to free the prisoner.

It was my pleasant fortune to accompany Mr. Garrison during a recent accidental journey to Baltimore, a city which he had never visited since that memorable incident thirty-four years ago. Judge Hugh Lenox Bond, a Radical Abolitionist, now presiding over the same court wherein an Abolitionist was once condemned as a criminal, had the kindness to exhume the buried papers connected with Mr. Garrison's case, loaning them to your correspondent till a copy could be made which is herewith appended. The original papers do not bear their age as well as the victim whom they condemned. They are yellow and faded—like the decaying institution in whose behalf they were penned. Seven or eight of the jurors who gave the verdict against the offender are still living in Baltimore, and Judge Bond humorously threatened to summon them into court, where Mr. Garrison might show them that his head was now without horns. I had meant to shut the distinguished convict in his old cell, turning the key upon him and leaving him awhile to his early memories, but we found that the jail was long ago torn down, and a new one standing in its place—used, however, not for the imprisonment of the opposers but of the abettors of slavery and treason.

When I add that Mr. Garrison, once a fanatic in Baltimore, found himself now quoted in that slave-city as a Conservative, you will have another of the many marvellous instances of our changing and mellowing times.

I am now as ever, your friend,
THEODORE TILTON.

Baltimore City Court, }
February Term, 1830. }

The Grand Jurors of the State of Maryland for the body of the city of Baltimore on their oaths do present, that Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison did, in a certain newspaper printed and published in the city of Baltimore on the 20th day of November last, called *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, publish a gross and malicious libel against Francis Todd and Nicholas Brown. [Signed] H. W. EVANS, Foreman.

Witnesses,
Henry Thompson,
John W. Thompson.

This paper was endorsed:

343 4. State of Maryland *vs.* Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd [Garrison]. Present. Ss. 19th February, 1830.

State of Maryland, }
City of Baltimore, *to wit* }

The Jurors of the State of Maryland for the body of the city of Baltimore do on their oaths present, That Benjamin Lundy, late of the city aforesaid, Yeoman, and William Lloyd Garrison, also late of the city aforesaid, Yeoman, contriving, and unlawfully, wickedly and maliciously intending to hurt, injure and vilify one Francis Todd, and to deprive him of his good name, fame and reputation, and to bring him into great contempt, scandal, infamy and disgrace, on the twentieth day of November, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-nine, with force and arms at the city aforesaid, unlawfully, wickedly and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, in a certain Newspaper there and then entitled *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, a certain communication, under the head of [of] "Black List," "Horrible News Domestic and Foreign," and to which the letter "G" was then and there appended as and for a signature, and which letter referred to some person to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, of and concerning the said Francis Todd, and of and concerning him the said Francis Todd (amongst others) engaged in the transportation of slaves from the port of Baltimore to the port of New Orleans (being therefore to be regarded and considered as an enemy to his own species, a highway robber and a murderer), and which said communication then and there contained the false, scandalous and malicious matter and libel following, that is to say:

"The Ship Francis. This ship, as I" (meaning the said person referred to by the said letter G) "mentioned in our last number, sailed a few weeks since from this port" (meaning the port of Baltimore) "with a cargo of slaves for the New Orleans market. I" (still meaning the said person referred to by the said letter G) "do not repeat the fact because it is a rare instance of domestic piracy, or because the case was attended with extraordinary circumstances; for the horrible traffic is briskly carried on, and the transportation was effected in the ordinary manner. I" (still meaning the said person referred to by the said letter G) "merely wish to illustrate New England humanity and morality. I" (again meaning the said person referred to by the said letter G) "am resolved to cover with thick infamy all" (meaning amongst others the said Francis Todd) "who were concerned in the nefarious business" (thereby meaning the transportation of slaves from the port of Baltimore to the port of New Orleans). "I" (again meaning the said person referred to by the said letter G) "have stated that the ship Francis hails from my native place, Newburyport (Massachusetts), is commanded by a Yankee Captain and owned by a townsman named Francis Todd. Of Captain Nicholas Brown I" (still meaning the person referred to by the said letter G) "should have expected better conduct. It is no worse to fit out piratical cruisers, or to engage in the foreign slave trade, than to pursue a similar trade along our own coasts; and the men who have the wickedness" (meaning that the said Francis Todd amongst others had the wickedness) "to participate therein for the purpose of heaping up wealth, should be [illegible] sentenced to solitary confinement for life; [illegible] they" (meaning the men who had the wickedness to participate in the transportation of slaves along our own coast, and amongst them including the said Francis Todd) "are the enemies of their own species—highway robbers and murderers," (meaning that the said Francis Todd was to be regarded as a highway robber and murderer) "and their final doom will be, unless they speedily repent, to occupy the lowest depths of [illegible]"

To the great scandal, damage and disgrace of the said Francis Todd, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, and against the Peace, Government and Dignity of the State.

[Signed] THOMAS JENNYS and
R. W. GILL.
Deputies of the Atty. Genl.
of Maryland for Baltimore
City.

This paper was endorsed:

343 4. State *vs.* Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison. Indictment submitted. True bill. Not guilty. H. W. Evans, foreman.

The motions are all overruled. Let judgment be entered on the verdict. The Court will advise as to the sentence.

Ss. 22d February, 1830.

The Court imposes a fine of 50 dollars and costs—on payment whereof the Traverser to be discharged.

[Signed] HENRY THOMPSON,
JOHN W. THOMPSON.

Baltimore City Court.
State of Maryland, }
vs. }
William Lloyd Garrison. }

And now the Defendant prays a New Trial, because the said Verdict is not warranted by the evidence adduced on the part of the State in support of the prosecution: the said evidence being materially variant from the libel set forth in the Indictment, inasmuch as the Indictment professes to set forth the whole communication signed G, and the paper read in evidence to the Jury shows that material and qualifying parts of the said communication have not been stated in the Indictment, and the Defendant had no notice to prepare his evidence of the truth of that part omitted.

2dly. Because it was proved to the Jury that Francis Todd, named in said Indictment, is a citizen of and resident in the State of Massachusetts, and was not in the State of Maryland when the said publication was made, nor has been in the said State of Maryland since.

3dly. Because there was no evidence before the Court and Jury that the Defendant printed, published, or had any agency in the printing or publishing this identical paper read in evidence to the Jury; but the only evidence was by Lucas and Dever, that Lundy and Garrison were the proprietors of the newspaper called the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," and that Lucas and Dever were employed by contract with the proprietors to print that newspaper so entitled; that they did print this particular paper, and Mr. Lucas delivered it to Mr. Thompson at Lucas and Dever's shop or printing-office; but neither of the witnesses knew or could say that Mr. Garrison ever saw it, or read or showed it, or any other containing this Libel complained of, to any person, or that he corrected the proof-sheets thereof, altho' the Editors Lundy and Garrison generally corrected the proof-sheets of the newspaper above mentioned. All which objections above mentioned were taken before the said Verdict was rendered, and entitled the Defendant in Law to the Verdict.

And the Defendant further prays the Court to arrest the Judgment in this case, because the matters charged in the said Indictment do not amount in Law to a Libel upon Francis Todd punishable by the Laws of this State, and also because the inuendoes set forth in the said Indictment are not warranted by the communication therein set forth, but vary and enlarge the import of the language of that communication; and also because there is no averment or colloquium in the said Indictment that Francis Todd was the owner of any vessel in fact, or had fitted out or employed any vessel for the transportation of slaves along our coast, or from one port of the United States to another, and also because the epithets stated in the said Indictment, taken in connection with the subject matter, impute no crime to Francis Todd, and reflect no disgrace or scandal on his character, but are mere opinions upon the general nature and moral aspect of the species of traffic there reprobated, which the Defendant had a right to express as the Proprietor and Editor of a Free Press.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON
by CH. MITCHELL.

March 1, 1830.

This paper was indorsed:

Baltimore City Court. State of Maryland *vs.* William L. Garrison. Motion for Judgment for the Defendant, *non obstante Veredicto*, and in arrest of Judgment.

Mr. Metcalf:

Please file this, and submit it to the Court. Yours, &c.,
CH. MITCHELL,
for the Traverser.

Ss. 2d March, 1830.

THE MUTINOUS BLACK SERGEANT.

WE print on the first page, by special request, an extract from one of M. D. Conway's letters to *The Commonwealth*, wherein the writer denounces the government, and especially the President, for permitting the execution of the black Sergeant who became mutinous in consequence of the injustice done to him and his fellow soldiers in the refusal to pay them full wages. Mr. Conway speaks of him as "the representative hero of his day," and says his execution was no better than murder, and that "the human heart will never forgive Mr. Lincoln" for permitting it, etc. Robert Browning, he informs us, lately told the story of his heroic death "as his contribution to an opinion as to the moral greatness of which the black race is capable."

Now, in regard to the injustice and meanness of the government toward the black soldiers in refusing them full wages, there can be no difference of opinion among Abolitionists. We have denounced it again and again, and, we rejoice to believe, not altogether in vain. But we cannot go so far as to say that the injustice, great as it was and is, affords any justification for mutiny on the part of its victims. Of Sergeant Walker, the man referred to, we know nothing personally, and therefore cannot say whether or not he is worthy of the niche in which Mr. Conway would place him as the "representative hero of his day." Before coming to a judgment on that point, we must be informed of all the material facts in the case, and weigh them candidly and impartially. If he deserves to be honored as hero, let him have his due; but if, on the other hand, he only took occasion from the injustice he suffered to manifest a mutinous spirit, and thereby made it *necessary* for the commanding general to take his life, in order to save the troops from demoralization in the face of the enemy, then certainly his execution cannot fairly be classed as "murder." It must be remembered that the officers under whom he served were in no way responsible for the injustice of which he rightfully complained, nor was it in their power to remedy that injustice, while they could not, with safety to the great interests committed to their charge, accept it as an excuse for disobedience and open mutiny. We must think that the colored soldiers who resolved to bear, temporarily, the injustice under which they were suffering, and to obey the orders of their officers, trusting that the government would eventually do them justice, were more heroic than the man who made his trials an excuse for mutiny. However this may be, it is only fair to put on record the grounds of his condemnation as contained in the proceedings of the Court Martial by which he was tried.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH, }
Hilton Head, S. C., Feb. 26, 1864. }

General Orders No. 29.

1. Before a General Court Martial, convened at Hilton Head, S. C., pursuant to special orders No. 516, dated November 6th, 1863, from Headquarters U. S. Forces, Hilton Head, S. C., and Special Orders No. 521, of Nov. 13th, 1863, No. 522, of Nov. 14th, 1863, and No. 532, of Nov. 23th, 1863, from Headquarters U. S. Forces, Hilton Head, Fort Pulaski, and Tybee Island, and Special Orders No. 555, of Dec. 20th, 1863, and No. 562, of Jan'y 3d, 1864, from Headquarters U. S. Forces, Hilton Head, S. C., and of which Major Edward Eddy, Jr., 47th N. Y. V., is President, was arraigned and tried:

Sergt. William Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C. Vols.

CHARGE I.—"Mutinous conduct, prejudicial to good order and military discipline."

Specification 1st—In this; that he, Sergt. William Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C. Vols., did, on or about the 23d day of August, 1863, join in a mutiny at Seabrook wharf, when on detail, and go away to camp, when ordered not to do so by 1st Lieut. Geo. W. Wood, commanding the detail. This at Seabrook, S. C., on or about the 25th day of August, 1863.

Specification 2d—In this; that he, Sergt. William Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C. Infantry, did use threatening language, such as: "I will shoot him," meaning 1st Lieut. Geo. W. Wood, this he said in a loud voice, so as to be heard all over camp, having, at the same time, a gun in his hand. All this at the camp of the Detachment, at Seabrook, Hilton Head, S. C., on or about the 23d day of August, 1863.

Specification 3d—In this; that he, Sergt. William Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C., Inf'y, did refuse to obey Capt. Edgar Abeel, 3d S. C. Inf'y, when ordered to go into his tent under arrest, and did not go, using language in presence of a number of enlisted men who were mutinous and noisy, such as: "It will not be under arrest by you, I will go to the Provost first." All this at Seabrook, Hilton Head, S. C. on or about the 23d day of August, 1863.

Specification 4th—In this; that he, Sergeant William Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C. Inf'y, did, on or about the 31st day of October, 1863, when ordered to fall in to drill, use words towards Sergeant Sussex Brown, such as: "God damn you, I will shoot you." These words he repeated the third time, in presence of the company, so loud as to be heard in the officer's tent. This at Drayton's Plantation, Hilton Head, S. C.

CHARGE II.—"Conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline."

Specification—In this; that he, Sergeant William Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C. Inf'y, did, when drummer William Smith, 76th Pa. Vols., Acting Drum Major, 3d S. C. Inf'y., made an attempt to arrest Ranty Pope, drummer, say, "If he (Wm. Smith) tied up Ranty Pope, he would have to tie him (Sergt. Wm. Walker) also," thereby preventing the arrest of drummer Ranty Pope. This at Camp Bennett, Hilton Head, S. C., on or about the 19th day of Nov. 1863.

CHARGE III.—"Mutiny."

Specification 1st—In this; that he, Sergt. William Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C. Inf'y, did unlawfully take command of his company "A," and march the same with others of his regiment, in front of his commanding officer's tent (Lt.-Col. A. G. Bennet), and then ordered them to stack arms; and when his commanding officer, Lt. Col. A. G. Bennett, inquired of the regiment what all this meant, he, the said Sergt. William Walker, replied: "We will not do duty any longer for ($7) seven dollars a month"; and when remonstrated with, and ordered by their commanding officer (Lt. Col. A. G. Bennett) to take their arms and return to duty, he, the said Sergt. Walker, did order his Co. "A" to let their arms alone, and go to their quarters, which they did, thereby exciting and joining in a general mutiny. All this at Camp Bennett, Hilton Head, S. C., on or about November 19th, 1863.

Specification 2d—In this; that Sergeant William Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C. Infantry, did, on or about the 19th day of November, 1863, unlawfully order his Company "A," to fall in, and go to the guard house to release Jacob Smith, private of Co. "A," 3d S. C. Inf'y, from arrest, he being there in the hands of 2d Lieut. John E. Jacobs, who was endeavoring to put a pair of handcuffs on said Jacob Smith, and that he, the Sergt. William Walker, marched to the guard house, at the head of his Company "A," and said words to this effect: "Take hold of him, snatch him, (thereby meaning Jacob Smith,) away my bully boys"; thus inciting, joining in, and causing a general mutiny. All this at Camp Bennett, Hilton Head, S. C.

CHARGE IV.—"Breach of arrest."

Specification—In this; that he, Sergeant William Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C. Inf'ny, did, on or about the 20th day of Nov., 1863, leave his tent without permision, and go into a tent in Company "D," 3d S. C. Inf'y, and play cards, after being placed in arrest by his commanding officer, Lt. Col. A. G. Bennett, who ordered him (the said Sergt. Walker,) not to leave his tent without his, Lt. Col. A. G. Bennett's, permission.

To which charges and specifications the accused pleaded "Not Guilty."

FINDING.

The Court, having maturely considered the evidence adduced, find the accused, Sergt. William Walker, 3d S. C. Vols., as follows:

CHARGE I.
Of the 1st *Specification*, "Not Guilty."
Of the 2d *Specification*, "Guilty," excepting the words, "so as to be heard all over camp."
Of the 3d *Specification*, "Guilty."
Of the 4th *Specification*, "Guilty."
Of the 1st CHARGE, "Guilty."

CHARGE II.
Of the *Specification*, "Guilty."
Of the CHARGE, "Guilty."

CHARGE III.
Of the 1st *Specification*, "Guilty."
Of the 2d *Specification*, "Guilty."
Of the CHARGE, "Guilty."

CHARGE IV.
Of the *Specification*, "Guilty."
Of the CHARGE, "Guilty."

SENTENCE.

And the Court do therefore sentence him, Sergeant Wm. Walker, Co. "A," 3d S. C. Vol. Infantry, two-thirds of the members concurring, *to be shot to death with musketry at such time and place as the commanding general may direct.*

II. The proceedings, findings, and sentence in the case of Sergeant Wm. Walker of Company "A," 3d Regt. South Carolina Vols., have been approved by the proper officer, and forwarded for the action of the Major General Commanding the Department. The sentence is confirmed, and will be carried into execution, under the direction of the commanding officer of the district of Florida, in presence of the Brigade to which the 3d S. C. Vols. is attached, as soon after the receipt of this order as is practicable.

By Command of Major-General Q. A. GILLMORE.
ED. W. SMITH, Asst. Adjt.-Gen'l.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AMONG ABOLITIONISTS.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IN sending the enclosed subscription I find myself again violating a resolution, as often broken as made, never more to take up the cross of appearing in a public journal. The warm discussions now going on in the Anti-Slavery ranks are such as to rouse the most indolent to an active interest in them, and the most timid to participate in the contest.

To me this division of opinion, in its present character, is one of the most glorious events that has taken place since the breaking out of the rebellion. Led as it is on both sides by persons of equal power and influence, leaving no room for an impartial or biassed judgment on the part of the public, it is one of the most sublime spectacles ever witnessed in a moral conflict, and its results will be no less important and decisive in the field of action. Who knows but that it may prove the salvation of the nation? If it be said, on the one side, that it will divide the country, and possibly defeat the election of Lincoln while Fremont stands no chance, who shall say that even four years of Copperhead rule would be worse than the unqualified support of all the Abolitionists given to Abraham Lincoln? If ever there was reason to thank God for the instruments he has given us, it is now that he has raised up such a man as Wendell Phillips to sound the alarm. Let no words of mine be construed to impeach the integrity or clear-sightedness which is ever associated with the honored name of Garrison. I think I understand fully the position he takes, and the evils which in his mind are sure to follow if the public councils are distracted at the present hour.

Judging from external appearances, it would seem that the election of a Peace Democrat would be the worst misfortune that could befal us at this juncture; but if it happens, let it not be charged to this dissension among the Abolitionists, but rather to the lack of virtue and principle among the people. If there is not enough of these, after all the lessons of the three past years, to infuse into their spirits something of that pure patriotism which shall lift this nation out of the mire of that political miasma which has so nearly proved its death, then we deserve to crawl on our knees for the next four years as a penance for refusing to walk in the light when it was in our power. I have no fear of this result, believing there is too much of the leaven of anti-slavery at work among the masses of the people. But with that what have we as Abolitionists to do? Of course those who think that Abraham Lincoln has done all that could be done under the circumstances, if there are any such, should do him the justice to say so, in public as well as private; but to endorse him as the most available man in order to save the office from being filled by a worse one, is certainly a derogation from our cardinal principles. On the other hand, it is equally incomprehensible how any of the radical Abolitionists can go into the electioneering campaign for Gen. Fremont, or any other man. The Constitution is not yet changed, except virtually by the War Power, neither is the platform of that party higher than that of the Republican party. I am glad to see politicians go for him when it is done from love of anti-slavery principle, but it seems like lowering the standard for an Abolitionist to come down to that level.

Indeed, there is no position so high as that which stands outside the government under all circumstances, for the Radical Reformer must of necessity be so far ahead of that public opinion, the average of which governments never reach, that while he may avail himself of its privileges, he cannot bind himself by oath to sustain its measures. Our work is still criticism—criticism of men and measures, and never while the badge of slavery remains, will the man sit in the Presidential chair who will act with such vigor that the most unsparing criticism will not be needed to spur him on, be he Fremont, Butler or Lincoln.

The reason is evident. The moment he enters the White House, he is bound by the trammels of his office, pressure within and pressure without. As Mr. Thompson said in one of his speeches, the man out of office knows nothing of the influences he will have to contend with when he gets in, and he probably spoke from experience. One of the best things that can be said of Lincoln is, that he has done as well as he said he would when he was elected, and it is a long time since we have had a President up to that mark, even if he did pledge himself to the South, and has faithfully executed his pledge.

He has done all, perhaps, that we had a right to expect from his antecedents and pro-slavery education, but that does not prove that he has the keenness or clearness of moral perception to guide the nation through such a crisis as this. Perhaps a change would be worse. It is possible that Fremont would prove a very different man for President from what he would as a military general.

No man can have the foresight to judge with unerring certainty in this respect, for no man knows himself until he is tried. One thing, however, is clear—human rights. Every child educated in this country knows what they are, although selfishness and avarice too often obscure them to his mind as he grows older. It is to clear away this film of selfishness and avarice that we are set on the watch-towers to guard the citadel of freedom, and let no side issues divert us from this high position.

Being one of those who looked upon Mr. Phillips as somewhat carried away by the impulse of the moment when he so unequivocally gave his support to the government and the flag, it is no cause for surprise that he should now take the view he does.

It is through this impulsive nature of his that he exerts that great magnetic influence which sways the masses, and its rare combination with great logical powers that gives him that uncommon force which chains his audience while saying the severest things. I did not propose, however, to go into any defence of him, but it struck me that to expect such a one to be always as consistent and measured as one who deliberates beforehand what he is going to say and never takes anything back, like [illegible] Garrison, is to expect an impossibility. Mr. Lincoln has been strangely inconsistent. At one moment the nation stands aghast at his heartless scheme of expatriation for the colored people, and the next is electrified with enthusiasm at his Emancipation Proclamation. He waits for the people to lead, and then dampens their enthusiasm by some great blunder, if he is really sincere in desiring the freedom of the slave, which I very much doubt. That is, he does not desire it so much as he desires to keep the good-will of his pro-slavery friends, and preserve their institutions if he can. This is evident by every act of his from the nullification of Fremont's Proclamation to his last denial of the equal rights of colored fellow-citizens. Of course he has done many anti-slavery acts, and has received due credit therefor, but for Abolitionists to hold him up as an anti-slavery candidate when earnest Republicans do not hesitate to express their disappointment in him is a gross inconsistency, because it is wholly uncalled for. However, there are benefits to be reaped from it, as I said in the beginning.

The discussion growing out of it will give the people a more thorough education, since it will lead them to think for themselves more than they would have done if we had all been ranged on one side. If Lincoln comes in, he will feel the eff

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, June 20th, 1864.

ON Friday of last week the Brothers Smith, wholesale hardware dealers in Federal st. in this city, were arrested by order of the Secretary of the Navy, and sent immediately to Fort Warren. Their premises are in possession of the government, and their books have been turned over to a special agent of the Navy Department for investigating frauds, who will examine and report to the Secretary of the Navy.

This arrest is said to have been made under a law of Congress of June 17th, 1862, providing for trial by court-martial of parties charged with fraud upon the government, and specifying that they shall not be admitted to bail. On the other hand, it is asserted this morning that strong interest has been made for them by sympathizers in New York, and that they are to be liberated on bail.

The allegation against this firm is that they have defrauded the government in some of their contracts. The dealings in question cover between two and three years, and amount, in the aggregate, to $1,200,000. The business character of these gentlemen has been good, but the most various opinions prevail in regard to their guilt or innocence. An outcry about arbitrary arrests is of course made by those who deal in that article.

Of the merits of this case we are not yet in a position to judge. It is amazing, however, to see how few fraudulent contractors are brought to justice. With the power the Executive now holds in his hands, there is no excuse for the neglect to exact full retribution from offenders in this kind. There is great facility for fraud upon the government in transactions of such magnitude as the necessary supplies for the army and navy; the profits of such fraud are enormous, and the temptations, therefore, great; and in proportion to these temptations and opportunities should be the vigilance of the government in detecting such frauds, in exacting retribution for them (where this is possible), and in providing that their perpetrators shall have no further chance, while this war lasts, of committing the villany in question. Yet we seldom have evidence of even the attempt to do any of these things. With the sympathy for our soldiers which now exists in the community, a full exposure of the wretch who had so used his contract as to impair their health, or comfort, or efficiency in warfare, at the same time that he cheated the government in articles of food, or clothing, or military accoutrement, might be made so effective as to drive him from his business and his residence, and leave him no further opportunity of repeating the offence. While the soldiers are guarding Washington from assault and capture, the Administration should exercise at least as much vigilance in guarding them from the depredations of harpies upon their food and clothing, their tents and blankets. Rogues of this sort should be "shown up" to an indignant community at least as effectually as pickpockets are at the police office. One would think that self protection, as well as decency, would impel the government to take some such measures. But where is the evidence of their being even attempted?

It is said that Senator Sumner has had an interview with the Secretary of War and the Attorney-General, urging upon them the immediate payment of the Massachusetts colored regiments. It was hoped that such payment would have been secured by the passage of the recent law. But no decision has been made by the functionaries in question, and this piece of justice, greatly needed by the colored soldiers, but still more by the honor and credit of the nation, is still delayed. If the President *cared* to have this measure accomplished, a word from him would do it, or displace the subordinates who have so long neglected this duty. But his memory never recals any "little anecdote" illustrating the meanness of grinding the face of the poor, the folly of disgusting by injustice those who are doing important work for you, or the impolicy of discouraging enlistments when a new draft for 200,000 men is said to be pending.

But it is not the President only who persists in turning the cold shoulder to the colored race. It appears (from a letter of Col. T. W. Higginson in *The Tribune* of the 15th or 16th inst.) that the South Carolina delegation to the Baltimore Convention, who were refused seats in that body when delegates from other questionable States obtained them, consisted of colored men, one of them being Capt. Robert Small, the hero of the steamboat "Planter," and the three others being known to Col. Higginson as among the ablest non-commissioned officers he had ever seen, white or black, and men whose personal appearance and bearing would win respect for them anywhere.

Possibly, circumstances other than their color decided the rejection of these men from the Convention. It happens unfortunately, however, that the decision of all such questions goes with the popular verdict in regard to colored men. If their names go into the jury-box, they never come out; if some contingency gives them a chance to rise, there is sure to be a slip between the cup and the lip. Such regularity of events shows the existence of a central idea and purpose directing them.

I trust you will insert Col. Higginson's letter in THE STANDARD,* especially as he states therein, very conclusively, in my judgment, his reasons for thinking the colored men of this country entitled to the ballot. The reasons why he thinks their claim superior to that of the great bulk of our immigrant population for the exercise of this political function are specially worthy of attention.

One of the considerations urged by Col. Higginson upon this last point is certainly the controlling one, and should be recognized as such by the country. We are in a crisis so serious, so momentous, so threatening, as to demand the special concentration of our thought and action upon that, letting other matters wait for their turn of settlement. A drowning man may have many important things pressing upon his attention, but his first business is, not to drown; and this is also the indispensable condition of his giving the other matters their appropriate attention when their turn comes. Our one great, pressing, vital interest, at present, is to get liberty established in the domain hitherto ruled by slavery. Now the negroes, ignorant as they are, understand this matter thoroughly. On all particulars relating to the contest between slavery and freedom they will be sure to vote right. This consideration alone should suffice to give them the franchise, as a means of securing, during the next coming years, the ground now gained, and to be gained, by our military operations. And really, considering the patience with which we have borne an unbroken succession of demonstrations of the very worst sort of voting possible (on the part of the slaveholders), it is rather late in the day to be frightened about the *possibility* of loyal and well-meaning men voting wrong through ignorance.

It is curious that we Abolitionists of the old school should at last be compelled, willing or not, to enter into the strife of politics, to discuss candidates, and to debate on the probabilities of election. The times have changed, and (to this extent) we must change with them. Yet the difference is more seeming than real, inasmuch as the country has not yet found an uncompromising defender of the rights of man standing as a candidate for the Presidency. Both the present aspirants seem to be intriguing for election on a certain basis of availability. One seems courting the votes of Republicans by adhering to that half-way policy which has always been preferred by the mass of that party; the other the votes of any and all other people, by a system akin to that which some irregular practitioners of medicine call the "eclectic," namely, the combination of ideas belonging to heterogeneous and diverse systems, in the hope thereby of attracting the followers of each. The function of Abolitionists, now as heretofore, seems to be free criticism of the short-comings of each of these, combined with an incessant demand that liberty, justice and humanity be represented in the politics of this nation. Fortunately, it is not indispensable that an immediate choice be made among the men now before us. A few months remain for consideration. Events are crowding, pressing, hurrying on, with unexampled rapidity. The right man may yet appear, to take command of our perilous navigation. The policy of "drifting" may be tolerated while the tide is right, though it can never be permanently safe, and though it is a confession of weakness in the governing power. But our exigency needs vigor of executive power, as well as firmness of character and firmness of principle.

As things are now going, we probably shall "drift" out of slavery. But drifting will never carry us *into freedom*. Our work now must be to construct institutions in conformity with the ideas of the Declaration of Independence. These ideas have too long been treated as "glittering generalities." The effort now to reduce them to practice in the nation's permanent policy and daily life will involve an amount of energy, vigilance and decision not less than that required by our two revolutionary struggles. We need an entire man to guide and to lead this effort. If God shall bring him before us in time to be chosen at the next Presidential election, let us not be found so committed to any half-man, any puppet of availability, as to be hindered from a prompt and decided maintenance of his claim.

NORTH.

* See first page.—*Editor.*

A PROTEST.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Since the cannonade of Fort Sumter, many Abolitionists have insisted that *slavery is dead;* was killed by the very first gun. That mistaken idea has wrought incalculable evil to our cause. It has cost THE STANDARD and *The Liberator* many subscribers, and no zeal on the part of the most faithful agents avails now to replace them. For a time, too, our labors in the field were greatly hindered thereby, and often received with scorn, and sometimes even with sneers, where before we had always been welcomed, and assisted and encouraged in every possible way.

I attended the late Fremont Convention (an invited guest) and there, too, the same fatal delusion appeared, and even prevailed. No effort on my part, or others, availed to prevent it. It was claimed to be the opinion of all parties and classes, and that the Abolitionists were the first to discover and avow it.

But to me it is not a truth that *slavery is destroyed.* Rather, to this hour, it is the all-destroying, devouring dragon of our country's hopes. When slavery is dead, in that hour the rebellion dies. Only Truth, Justice, and God can prevail against it; and these the government has not used; does not propose to invoke. I protest, therefore, against any word or measure that shall soothe the conscience or hold back the hand of the people from a work and warfare only just begun.

"Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire!"

Well sung the Hebrew Minstrel. But we are not yet out of the first act in the dread drama. We have seen only the "confused noise and garments rolled in blood."

Yours, still working and waiting,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

Concord, N. H., June 20, 1864.

The Liberator can speak for itself, but we are happy in being able to assure Mr. Pillsbury that he is altogether mistaken in saying that "the idea that slavery is dead" has "cost THE STANDARD *many* subscribers." It is possible that half a dozen persons may, in the last three years, have discontinued their subscriptions under the influence of the "mistaken idea" referred to, though we doubt if the number is so great; but on the other hand the rebellion has attracted to the paper ten times that number of persons who never took it before. In fact, THE STANDARD, in spite of attempts in some quarters to disparage it as not sufficiently radical for the times, has steadily, though slowly, increased its circulation during the last three years; and, if we may judge from the tone of the letters that reach us, it was never more highly esteemed by its readers than it is now.

LETTER OF MARIUS R. ROBINSON, OF OHIO.

SALEM, Ohio, June 20, 1864.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.—*My Dear Friend:* I have lectured as often as my strength would permit, averaging three or four addresses per week, and never in my experience has this work been more pleasant to me or seemed more full of promise. I am able, to a considerable extent, to get the ears of the Democracy, even of our *Vallandighammers.* My topics have been the abolition of slavery—the amendment of the Constitution and the admission of the emancipated and all others to all the rights and privileges of American citizenship. To present these views, I have, in many cases, selected the pro-slavery democratic towns, where they never have heard, and never would before hear, such truths. Anti-slavery friends in the vicinity of these neighborhoods predicted disturbance at the meetings, but in no instance have I met with any other than the most earnest and respectful attention.

Yours very truly, M. R. ROBINSON.

FREMONT AND VALLANDIGHAM.—When we remarked last week that Fremont's letter accepting the nomination of the Cleveland Convention, omitting one or two brief phrases, might have been consistently signed by Vallandigham, we did not expect so soon to find that Copperhead martyr quoting it exultingly as a vindication of his treason. But in his speech at Hamilton, Ohio, the other day, that open ally of the rebels referred to Fremont's letter in the following terms:

"Men of Ohio: You have already asserted your right to hear. It is now my duty to assert my right to speak. Wherefore, as to the sole offence for which I was arrested, imprisoned and banished—free speech in criticism and condemnation of the Administration—*an Administration fitly described in a recent public paper by one of its early supporters as 'marked at home by disregard of constitutional rights, by its violation of personal liberty of the press, and as the crowning shame, by the abandonment of the right of asylum—a right especially dear to all free nations.'* I repeat it here to-day, and will again and yet again, so long as I live, or the Constitution and our present form of government shall survive. The words then spoken, and the appeal at that time made, and now enforced by one year more of taxation and debt, and of blood and disaster, entreating the people to change the public servants and their policy, not by force, but peaceably, through the ballot, I now and here reiterate in their utmost extent and with all their significancy."

The words in *Italics* are, it will be observed, those of Gen. Fremont.

The Copperheads of Ohio have chosen Vallandigham as one of their representatives in the Chicago Convention, wherein he will have to pass upon the claims of Gen. Fremont as a candidate for the Presidency!

DEFERRED.—We regret that the proceedings of the Friends of Progress in their late meeting at Waterloo did not reach us until all our space for the present week was appropriated.

OBITUARY.

DIED, in the city of New York, May 5, at the residence of his sons-in-law (Dr. J. P. Mann and Mr. C. E. Adams), Mr. Robert Furman, aged 67. His remains were carried to his late home for interment.

As one of the earliest, most consistent, and wholehearted anti-slaverymen that has lived among us, this notice in *The Liberator* may not be amiss. Knowing him as I did, I do not believe that any anti-slavery truth was ever presented to his mind a second time before it was heartily accepted.

He loved his church and the favor of his friends and neighbors, but he loved the cause of the oppressed more. The poorest fugitive was always received at his house with a welcome fit for a king or a conqueror.

He belonged to the old "Liberty Party" of Western New York, when the voters might be counted on one's fingers. Not being a public speaker or writer, he was never conspicuous at anti-slavery meetings, but no truer friend of the slave ever lived and died in our ranks. Another characteristic very prominent was his business integrity. He would have gone hungry and cold rather than fail to meet any pecuniary obligation that he had incurred, whether bound legally or not.

Men who did not like the organized church very much have frequently said he was the only honest churchmember they ever knew, and that he really sometimes "beat the golden rule." Another one remarked when he died, that he "thought about the last of that kind of men had gone, and there was heaven in him."

No one not knowing him intimately could understand the loving, forgiving spirit which always animated him. Even when greatly injured, and his confidence most cruelly betrayed, as it was in several instances in his life, and his honest earnings wrested from him under the garb of friendship, he never indulged a bitter thought, but went on in his own honest way, giving a helping hand wherever he could to those who needed, and blessing all by his loving and gentle spirit.—*Communicated.*

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, in an interesting delineation of the character of Mr. Furman, published in a Syracuse paper, says:

"Mr. Furman was a true philanthropist. He longed to see the human family delivered from ignorance, vice and misery. He hated tyranny and oppression of every kind, and was one of the earliest, most consistent and devoted anti slavery and temperance men.

"He was an ardent lover of his country. The impious attempt of the Southern aristocrats to take the life of our republic filled him with horror. The first call of our President for volunteers to protect the capital of the nation roused him, forgetful of his age and infirmities, to rush forward and enrol his name at the head of the list of patriots that were ready to offer their lives in the cause of Union and Liberty. The wish of his heart was, that he might live to see the overthrow of this rebellion, the entire subjugation of the wicked men who had instigated it, and the extirpation of slavery—the bitter root of all this evil—slavery, which has quenched the love of country in the bosoms of the Southern lords and their retainers, utterly depraved their morals, and made them capable of the blackest crimes that have ever been perpetrated by man.

"But the chief excellencies of Mr. Furman were conspicuous in private life. He was one of the most unselfish of men, single-hearted and manly. He despised all shams, and was incapable of doing anything merely for effect or applause. His hospitality was most generous; friends, acquaintances and strangers were cordially welcomed to his house. They could hardly come too often or stay too long.

"But it was his great delight to be in the bosom of his family. Never did an unkind word, scarcely an impatient one, escape him there. He ruled his household by love. His attachment to his children grew stronger to the last. Often did he exclaim, 'It seems as if no man was so rich as I am. I have an unbounded store of wealth in the love my children show to me, and the love I feel for them!' And he was permitted to have all his loved ones about him during his last distressing sickness.

"Thus has departed another of the fathers of our city. May the sons emulate their virtues; not fall below them in any; if possible, excel them in every respect."

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

RETALIATION PROBABLY.

An order has been issued by Gen. Butler requiring that the rebel prisoners captured by Gen. Wild in the recent engagement on the James river, and forwarded by him to Fortress Monroe and thence to Point Lookout, shall be immediately returned to Gen. Wild's headquarters, for what purpose is not known. But information has been received that colored troops captured from Gen. Wild's command, have been shot by the rebels, and Butler undoubtedly means to let the negroes retaliate in the same way.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL THOMAS.

The Opposition members of Congress dislike Gen. Thomas—the Adjutant-General—more than any other general in the service, and because he has changed from a pro-slavery man to one of strong anti-slavery convictions. When Gen. Thomas was pro-slavery—at the commencement of the war—stories circulated which implicated his loyalty. The Opposition then flew to his rescue, and denounced these rumors as infamous falsehoods. Since then the Republicans of Washington have become convinced that Gen. Thomas was always a loyal man; and now, since he is recruiting negro regiments, the Opposition are making use of the old slanders against him.—*Cor. Eve. Post.*

THE NEGROES WELCOME OUR TROOPS.

On the march of Grant's army from Spottsylvania to the North Anna, at intervals of every few miles, families of negroes were gathered along the roadside, exchanging words of salutation to our soldiers as they passed, and grinning all over their faces. "Massa's gone away, gem'men," was the answer in almost all cases where the query in relation to their master's whereabouts was raised. "Specs he gwan to Richmon'. Dun know. He went away in a right smart hurry last night; dat's all I knows." A sight of the fine, athletic, plump appearance of some of these negroes, of both sexes and all ages, would have driven a negro-trader crazy, especially when he became convinced of the fact that, according to the terms of President Lincoln's proclamation, those negroes are free the moment the lines of the Union army closed in upon them. It was a pleasing spectacle, and commingled with not a little pathos, to hear the benedictions which the aged and infirm negroes poured out upon our soldiers as they marched by. "I'se been waitin' for you," said an old negro, whose eyesight was almost entirely gone, and whose head was covered with the frosts of some eighty-five Winters. "Ah, I'se been waitin' for you gemmen some time. I knew you was comin', kase I heerd massa and misses offen talkin' about you," and then the old hero chuckled, and almost ground his ivories out of his head.

WOUNDED BLACK BRAVES.

Some thirty-five of our colored soldiers, wounded in the late battles under Grant, have arrived in Baltimore, and are in charge of the new Colored Sanitary Commission just established. Two hundred of them are at the Washington hospitals. A friend who saw them arrive on the boat at Washington says they were as gay and hilarious as though they were going to a wedding.

MAGNIFICENT FIGHTING BY NEGRO TROOPS IN MISSISSIPPI.

It is stated that in the late unfortunate defeat of the expedition under Gen. Sturgis, the colored troops fought with the most determined desperation, and were the last to give way. It is stated that after the ammunition had become exhausted many of the negro troops boarded the ammunition train as it was being destroyed and filled their bosoms and pockets with cartridges, and that others of the negro troops gathered ammunition from the cast away accoutrements of the white troops, and thus were enabled to keep up the fight until they reached Memphis. It is also stated that one body of 1,600 infantry, which were cut off and supposed to have been captured, were defended by 200 negro troops from the repeated assaults of the rebel cavalry, and arrived at Collierville soon after the main column of our forces arrived there. Another body of three hundred negro troops came in afterwards, having escaped by various roads. All brought their arms and accoutrements with them. Our loss is now estimated at 125 negro troops killed, and 14 pieces of artillery. About 1,500 men, all of the 59th United States colored troops, have come in. There are 200 men and six officers missing. Three hundred of the 55th United States colored troops are missing.

NEGROES ON GUARD.

A correspondent with Gen. Meade's army notes this difference between white and negro troops — white veterans learn to march in a careless, leisurely manner, and when physically exhausted, sustain their languid bodies by mental endurance and pertinacity, while the negroes, like our mule teams, tug away energetically until the last moment, and finally break down all at once, like a "one horse shay." The service the negroes like best is guarding the prisoners. Then their viligance and faithfulness, and the heartiness with which they perform their duties, appear most conspicuous. How should you like to see a tall, lank, straight-haired Carolinian, wearing a cockney hat, the brim pinned up on one side, and ornamented with a rude effort to imitate in needle-work the palmetto or South Carolina cabbage tree, marching along under guard of three blacks, who occasionally accelerate his reluctant pace with such incentives as—"March along dar, massa—no straggling to de rear—close up dar, sar?" It is one of the most amusing spectacles which we have the pleasure of witnessing in the army. The situation is singularly suggestive of the propriety and fitness of things.

We recall an instance in which a lady of respectable family and estate, who was rapidly losing the few onions and strawberries that grew in her garden, together with the few chickens and turkeys which caught the wandering grasshoppers, made application for protection. The guard was immediately furnished, and four fine fellows from one of our blackest regiments marched up the avenue in front of the house, with shining muskets and faces. Oh, you should have seen the scorn with which the Virginia gentlewoman refused the protection of the United States negro soldiers, and besought destruction and starvation to visit her house and family, rather than to be saved therefrom by negro soldiers. I have no doubt that colored soldiers perform guard duty faithfully, when it is entrusted to them, but I must acknowledge I too have seen them, with some disrespect for confederate property claims, carrying away fine cuts of fresh pork, lamb or veal, fastened to their bayonets.—*Springfield Republican.*

A correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from Gen. Butler's headquarters, June 16, says:

"Gen. Grant visited the front yesterday, and while there one of his aids, who wore no distinguishing mark of office, was arrested by one of the colored soldiers on guard. They would not believe his story, but took him to Gen. Grant to corroborate it. 'Well, General, I have been arrested by this soldier, who won't believe my story.' The Commander-in-Chief identified and released his aid, telling the soldier he had done his duty. He then remarked to his aid, 'Served you right, sir. I am glad of it, as it shows the negroes are vigilant. The next time you had better wear something to indicate your rank and profession, or else keep out of their way.'"

MR. STANTON AND THE MARYLAND COLORED VOLUNTEERS.

WASHINGTON, June 9.

It will be remembered that the Maryland Legislature some time since offered a bounty of $50 to colored volunteers, and a bounty also to masters of slaves volunteering. The volunteers so raised were ordered to the field before the bounty was paid, and they authorized a Mr. Bowman to collect the money for them and apply it in a specified way. Gov. Bradford, however, has ordered that the money be withheld, the soldiers having been sent to the field with the promise that the money should be immediately forthcoming. The Secretary of War issued an order, first, that the soldiers shall not be credited in the quotas of the respective Counties till the money is paid; second, that if not paid within a specified time they shall be credited on quotas of any Counties that will pay it; and third, that in all the cases the soldiers shall be paid before the masters.—*Cor. Boston Advertiser.*

NEGRO ENLISTMENTS IN KENTUCKY.

From The Covington (Ky.) American.

Negroes are coming to this city from the interior in swarms, for the purpose of enlisting in the United States army. About two hundred have arrived in the past three days. These enlistments will materially reduce the quotas of Bracken, Pendleton, Harrison, Grant, Boone, Gallatin, Carroll and Trimble Counties.

Owing to the great number of enlistments in some of the Counties of the Blue Grass region, the probability is that several of these Counties will be free from any further draft, the quotas being all filled. This result will make negro enlistments very popular with the non-slaveholding whites, who otherwise would be subject to the draft.

The entire quota of Jessamine County, in the late draft, was filled by negro enlistments.

HEADQUARTERS PROVOST MARSHAL,
6TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, KY.,
COVINGTON, KY., June 3d., 1864.

Information has been received at these Headquarters to the effect that certain parties throughout this District are daily engaged by persuasion, threats of violence, and misrepresentations as to the positions that are assigned to negro troops in the field, to prevent negroes from serving in the Federal army. This is clearly interfering with the enrollment and draft that are now in progress, and with the orders of Gen. Burbridge, commander of the district of Kentucky, and subjects the loyal owners of slaves to great inconvenience in complying with the requisitions of the law. These practices are, at the same time, convulsing the labor of the country, which is sufficient of itself to require the immediate arrest of the parties thus offending, and I hereby direct that all Deputy Provost Marshals, acting under my authority, arrest and forthwith send to these headquarters all persons so offending.

HENRY A. MITCHEL,
Major 17th Reg. V. R. C.,
Acting Provost Marshal, 6th Con. Dis.

Baltimore Correspondence Evening Post.

I am informed from official quarters that the government is really in earnest in the work of enlisting negro troops for the war in Kentucky. Gen. Thomas has the matter in hand. The roads are swarming with able-bodied black men, hastening to the various rendezvous to be mustered into the service. On Saturday last I am told that six hundred stalwart blacks came into one rendezvous in Kentucky; that they are coming in faster at all the rendezvous than they can be examined and mustered in; that the government will have ten colored regiments in the service before the 1st of July from Kentucky; that two of them will be from the southwestern part of the State, and that the recent raid of John Morgan has melted away prejudices, and quickened the desire of the whites to fill up the quota of the State with negro troops. So that after all Kentucky will be saved at last by the slave, who has been her glory and her shame—her glory in her labor, and her shame in his cruel oppression.

THE BLACK SOLDIERS AT PETERSBURG.

Dispatches to the War Department.

CITY POINT, Va., Thursday, June 16, 1864.

At 7:20 p.m. yesterday, Smith assaulted and carried the principal line of the enemy before Petersburg, taking 13 cannon, several stands of colors, and between 300 and 400 prisoners. . . .

DOUTHARD'S LANDING, Va., 1 p.m., June 16.

After sending my dispatch of this morning from the heights south-east of Petersburg, I went over the conquered lines with Gen. Grant and the engineer officers. The works are of the very strongest kind, more difficult to take than was Missionary Ridge at Chattanooga. *The hardest fighting was done by the black troops.* The forts they stormed were the worst of all. After the affair was over, Gen. Smith went to thank them, and tell them he was proud of their courage and dash. He says they cannot be exceeded as soldiers, and that hereafter he will send them into a difficult place as readily as the best white troops. They captured six out of the sixteen cannon which he took. The prisoners he took were from Beauregard's command.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

HEADQUARTERS GEN. SMITH, near PETERSBURG,
June 15, 1864.

Yesterday the troops under Gen. Smith who went to join Grant about two weeks ago, returned to Bermuda Hundred. Gen. Butler immediately determined on another attempt on Petersburg, led by an officer who he knew would fight, viz.: Gen. Smith. Early this morning Kautz's cavalry crossed the pontoon bridge over the Appomattox, followed by Gen. Brooks's, Gen. Martindale's and a portion of Gen. Ames's divisions. Gen. Hinks joined the command with two brigades of colored troops under Cols. Duncan and ——, and in the early dawn another movement on Petersburg commenced. The crossing of the pontoon bridge, at first by the light of fires, builded on either shore, and of lanterns along the bridge, then by the gray streaks of morning light succeeded by the rosy hues that foretold the rising sun, was very picturesque. Gen. Smith and staff were at a house on the City Point side of the Appomattox directing the movements of troops. The black column came steadily across, and the long line wound their way to the right and left as directed, and disappeared in the semi-darkness, the dull, heavy tramp coming back to tell one of the march of thousands upon the foe. . . . Our troops drove in the vedettes on all the roads, and about 5½ o'clock firing was heard along Gen. Kautz's advance. Gen. K. sent back word that he had found the enemy in a small earthwork on the left of City Point road, from which he had driven them, but that further on they were strongly posted in a line of rifle-pits stretching across the road, and had two pieces of artillery. Of this latter fact we were soon made aware by solid shot flying over our heads. Gen. Kautz had moved to the left in order to fulfill his instructions, leaving the infantry to take care of the rebels. Gen. Hinks's troops were at once formed in line of battle, and his skirmishers pushed forward. The crack of rifles as they entered the woods told that they had encountered the enemy's skirmishers, and several poor fellows assisted to the rear, and the sight of the awful "stretcher" told that fighting had begun in earnest. On through the wood the colored boys advanced, pushing the foe before them. The rebels tried to make a last stand along the further skirt of the wood, but were unable to do so. They then fled across the field to the cover of their intrenchments. The two twelve-pounder guns had been playing upon us quite briskly, and having range of the road, soon drove everything to cover of the woods. Across an open field, up a little slope, and the enemy's works were reached. Here were two regiments of infantry, with some cavalry on their right flank. This position is near the Baylor house. Gen. Hinks directed that the works be carried by assault, and the 22d U. S. colored regiment, Col. Kidder, went gallantly across the field with a shout, and dashed upon and over the works. So sudden and so determined was the onset that the rebels were forced to retire, leaving one of the twelve-pounder guns, which was at once turned on them by the negroes, who fired all the ammunition that remained. In the charge Serg. Dunwood, of Company F, was killed, and some twenty or thirty wounded. Only two officers were wounded. The men behaved in the most gallant manner, this being their first fight. The officers are brave and efficient, having been passed by Gen. Casey's Board of Examination. One of the captains had three bullet-holes through his hat. Others were shot through their clothes, but escaped unharmed. The boys were very much elated with their success, and talked as much over it as though it had been the capture of Petersburg or Richmond. No time was to be lost, however. The Sergeant was sadly buried where he fell, and the boys shouldered their muskets and moved on. The rebels had attempted to make a stand in the woods beyond, but were prevented by the rapid movements of the skirmishers. At this point Gen. Brooks's division was thrown forward, Gen. Burnham's brigade having the advance. Gen. Hinks, with his colored division, moved round to the left to reach the Jourdan Point road. Gen. Burnham pushed on without much opposition and entered the woods that skirt the plain around Petersburg, in which the principal defenses are placed. There the skirmishing became quite lively. Gen. Hinks moved to the left, made the detour upon the Jourdan Point road, driving in the enemy's skirmish line, and forcing them into their intrenchments.

HEADQUARTERS GEN. BUTLER, June 16, 1864.

I find that in my account of the assault upon the rebel works in front of Petersburg, I hardly did the colored troops justice. As before stated, they held a position on the Jourdan Point road, and connected with Gen. Brooks's division on their right. In front of them was an earthwork and three redoubts. They were first directed to assault the earthwork. It is proper here to state that Gen. Smith, in common with many other good soldiers, while recognizing the propriety of using the negroes as soldiers for certain purposes, has at the same time entertained doubts as to their fighting qualities, and therefore wished to try them. It is perhaps needless to add that the quietly but firmly expressed confidence of their leader, Gen. Hinks, in their ability to cope with white troops, had much to do with removing doubts which existed, and dispelling illusions which exist only in imagination.

The accident to Gen. Hinks, alluded to in my last letter, deterred him from that active participation in the fight which he otherwise would have been sure to have taken. As it was, suffering from his old wounds, opened afresh by his fall, to which may be added fresh bruises and contusions, he still persisted in directing the movements of his division, and it is but stating the truth to say that the heroism thus displayed by their commander inspired the officers, and, through them, the privates, to deeds of valor. To return, the charge upon the advanced works was made in splendid style; and, as the "dusky warriors" stood shouting upon the parapet, Gen. Smith decided that "they would do," and sent word for them to storm the first redoubt. Steadily these troops moved on, led by officers whose unostentatious bravery is worthy of emulation. With a shout and rousing cheers they dashed at the redoubt. Grape and canister were hurled at them by the infuriated rebels. They grinned and pushed on, and, with a yell that told the Southern chivalry their doom, rolled irresistibly over and into the work. The guns were speedily turned upon those of our "misguided brethren," who forgot that "discretion was the better part of valor."

Another redoubt was carried in the same gallant style, and the negroes have established a reputation that they will surely maintain.

"Well," said Gen. Butler's Chief of Staff to a tall sergeant, "you had a pretty tough fight there on the left." "Yes, sir; and we lost a good many good officers and men." "How many prisoners did you take, sergeant?" "Not any alive, sir," was the significant response. Gen. Smith says, "They don't give my Provost-Marshal the *least trouble*, and I don't believe they contribute toward filling any of the hospitals with rebel wounded."

I saw these troops as they advanced in line of battle, and it was the general comment that there was less straggling than ever before seen. In truth there was none.

Let me add that Gen. Grant and staff have become quite enthusiastic over the performances of the colored division. Officers on Gen. Hancock's staff, as they rode by the redoubt, surrounded by a moat with water in it, over which these negroes charged, admitted that its capture was a most gallant affair. The negroes bear their wounds quite as pluckily as the white soldiers, as a visit to the hospital made apparent.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

IN FRONT OF PETERSBURG, June 16.

As everybody seems to have negro on the brain in the army, I may be pardoned for again alluding to the colored troops in this letter. A single day's work has wiped out a mountain of prejudice, and fairly turned the popular current of feeling in this army in favor of the down-trodden race; and every one who has been with them on the field has some story to relate of their gallant conduct in action, or their humanity and social qualities. The capture of the fort before referred to is related, among other things, in evidence of their manhood and gallantry; taking prisoners in the exciting moment of actual hand-to-hand fighting in face of the Fort Pillow and other similar rebel atrocities perpetrated upon their colored companions in arms, elsewhere, as evidence of their humanity—that they are really something more than the stolid brute, such as some people profess to believe. But, next to bravery, one impromptu act of theirs has done more than all else to remove a supposed natural prejudice against them. Wounded officers of two different brigades, in the Second Corps, tell me that, when they relieved the colored troops in front Wednesday night, their men had been out of rations all day, and were very hungry, as may well be supposed. When this fact became known to the negroes, to use the expressive language of a wounded officer, "They emptied their haversacks and gave the contents to our boys." The colored troops, I have had opportunity to know, bear their honors meekly—as become men. Hereafter the vile oath and offensive epithet will not be blurted out against the negro soldier and in his presence, upon every favorable opportunity, as has too generally heretofore been the practice. This will be exclusively confined to the professional stragglers, who are never at the front when danger is there.

E. A. PAUL.

MAJOR-GENERAL SMITH'S TESTIMONY.

Major-Gen. W. F. Smith, in a congratulatory order addressed to the 18th Army Corps after the battle of Petersburg, after complimenting the bravery of the soldiers generally, and saying that "such honor as they have won will remain imperishable," adds this testimony to the valor of the black troops:

"To the colored troops comprising the division of Gen. Hinks, the General commanding would call the attention of his command. With the veterans of the 18th Corps they have stormed the works of the enemy and carried them, taking guns and prisoners, and in the whole affair they have displayed all the qualities of good soldiers."

Gen. Smith had not been favorably impressed by what negro troops had heretofore accomplished in the battles where they have been engaged, and it was with serious misgiving that he intrusted them with the important work of making the advance upon the left.

THE PAY OF COLORED SOLDIERS.

The bill for the payment of colored soldiers as it finally passed both Houses of Congress, provides that all persons of color who were free on the 19th of April, 1861, and who have entered the military service of the United States, shall be entitled to receive from the day of their enlistment the pay, bounty and clothing allowed to such persons by the laws existing at the time of their enlistment, the Attorney-General being empowered to decide all questions of law connected with the subject, and if he shall decide that any pay, bounty or clothing is due to any such soldiers, in addition to what they have received, the Secretary of War is to make provision for their payment. If, therefore, the Attorney-General does not find any legal points to prevent, and we do not see what he can rake up, this law will result in the payment in full of the negro regiments which went from Massachusetts, and have refused to take any pay at all until they could have what was promised them at the time of their enlistment. If Congress and the government had shown a disposition to deal fairly with the negro troops a little earlier, the Secretary of War need not now be in such a strait for men, or in such a panic to have the commutation clause repealed, in order to give greater potency to the draft.—*Springfield Republican.*

ONE OF UNCLE SAM'S BLACK SOLDIERS.

Carrolton, La., June 2, 1864.

I am writing in the camp of the 12th Connecticut regiment, and about here are encamped the 19th army corps, under marching orders for Morgan zia, near the mouth of Red river. In this tent sits a man—unfortunate because black—once a slave, but free now, a member of the grand army of the United States, who is courageous, and who will wield a sword or thrust a bayonet as vigorously as any, because he has suffered so bitterly at the hands of those who would crush his race. His crime was remonstrating with his master for beating his wife. When our men found him he was sitting on the floor, two log chains passing over his shoulders and fastened to a staple, and over him stood four soldiers with muskets to prevent his escape. He is not only faithful, but he is gentlemanly, intelligent, and interesting in conversation and appearance. His brave heart is full of patriotism, and he is willing to serve or die for his country.—*Springfield Republican.*

A GOOD STORY.

Bermuda Hundred, June 18.—Gen. Hinks tells a very good story respecting the proximity of his sable soldiers to the rebels who garrisoned the works on the extreme right of the long line which was so gallantly carried by Gen. Smith last Wednesday evening. At first the enemy did not yield the works alluded to. It was the strongest part of their position, and had to be approached over almost impracticable entanglements under a heavy fire of grape and canister. The negroes bravely made their way through the branches of the felled trees and thick shrubbery and stumps, dragging themselves along on their hands and knees, encumbered with guns, blankets and haversacks. Some of the poor fellows found the task before them too difficult, and were glad to get out of the death-trap as quick as they could. One of these discomfitted warriors was met by Gen. Hinks, who inquired: "Well, my man, did you get up near enough for the rebels to see the whites of your eyes?" "I dunno 'bout dat, sah!" said the perspiring hero, showing his ivory, "but dey smelt us, I reckon!"—H. J. W.—*Times.*

THE WOUNDED NEGRO SOLDIERS.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Times.

JAMES RIVER, June 17.

All the wounded men whom I see under the trees, in the tents, and in the houses, bear their wounds with a degree of manliness, patience and cheerfulness to which I have seen no parallel among sufferers from maims in civil hospital practice. The negroes, in particular, of whom there are a large number here wounded, seem to be actually *proud* of their wounds—proud that in this sacred cause they have been accounted worthy to shed their blood, or lose a limb, or be pierced by a bullet or torn by a shell—proud that they have been enabled to demonstrate their manhood by showing that they have the high courage and the true hearts of men.

And here let me diverge for a moment, to this topic, as the present is the first occasion in the course of the present war in which negro soldiers have taken part in actual fighting on the soil of Virginia, or alongside of the veteran army of the Potomac. Of the actual character of their fighting, and of their behavior under fire in the severe action near Petersburg on Wednesday last, I cannot speak from personal observation, for I did not reach here till yesterday. But I have seen and conversed with many of the black troops who have reached here from the front on various duty, with a large number of the wounded, and with many of the white officers and soldiers who were present with them on the field; and the wounds as well as the witnesses give strong and uniform testimony to the immense heroism and high military qualities of the negro soldiers as exhibited on this occasion. There are innumerable tales of individual deeds of bravery of as high character as any that songs were ever sung about; there is open proof of their general admirable conduct in what they achieved and in what they suffered. Of the latter quality—that of suffering—I can speak from what I have here seen. Shortly after reaching this place, I heard over among the trees the musical, yet mournful sound, of a body of negro men and women singing religious hymns. Thitherward I wended my way through the darkness, and soon came upon a little house, which was surrounded by young and middle-aged wounded black soldiers. Inside the house were others lying on the floor more severely wounded, and in the centre of them stood a venerable old negro grandfather, whose tremulous voice led the song of praise to Christ, that sounded shrilly beneath the evening sky, and in which he was joined by some women as well as by the wounded who were able to join. The old African's body swung to and fro, and his arms were raised passionately toward Heaven, as he gave out the lines, two by two, for the benefit of the others. Presently he sank upon his knees, and burst into an ecstacy of prayer; but although I could understand little of his broken dialect, I doubt not that it was all listened to and understood by Him to whom it was addressed. Presently he sprang again to his feet and broke forth into a mournful [illegible] by that of a young neg

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

RELIEVED.

"Gen. Alex. Hayes, commanding the Second Brigade of Getty's Division, was killed. He was hard pressed, and sent word to Hancock that he must have reinforcements. 'Tell him,' said Hancock, 'to hold his ground twenty minutes and he shall be relieved'; but before twenty minutes expired, his body was brought in."—*"Carleton," in Boston Journal, May 5th.*

Above, a sea of smoky, dun-colored clouds; below,
A thousand up-turned faces, fiery and dark, of the foe;

A leaden rain of bullets descending, and here and there
A shell like a shrieking demon, hot-hissing through the air;

A flash of sabres incessant—shaming the murky sun;
A lull in the dreadful pageant—one hero's work is done!

Bear him away, O soldiers, O, gallant and weeping men!
He will never lead you to battle nor straighten your ranks again.

But oh! did you hear him imploring that single, desperate boon?—
"Relief! relief! God send that it reach us, and reach us soon!"

Ay, sooner than he had hoped for! sooner, and not the same,
The succor he asked! Men call it by another and darker name.

But above, in the many mansions, where God and the angels dwell,
Far over the shock of cannon, the tumult of shot and shell,

That desperate cry found hearing, and the bright hosts held their breath,
While silently passed from out them the angel whom we call *Death!*

And tenderly as a mother folds her first-born to her breast
And rocks him into his slumbers, so passed he to his rest.

"Relieved!" No strong battalions, no ranks of armed men
Hot-hurrying to the rescue with fiery zeal;—what then?—

"And thinkest thou not," said Jesus, "I could pray to my Father in heaven,
And presently He would send me twelve legions of angels even?"

And thinkest thou then, O doubter! this cry of a human soul
Was lost to the Infinite Father, missing its human goal?

—Oh, ear of the highest! bending wherever Thy heroes call
For succor, divine or human, Thy mercy is over all!

For some the answering legions; for others a harder fate:
To stand in their lot, and having done all, to stand and wait.

Yet truly, it little matters; no choice a brave heart knows
But this: "Or living or dying, my face to my country's foes!"

CAROLINE A. MASON.

THE LATE OWEN LOVEJOY.

ORGANIZATION OF THE LOVEJOY MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

From The Chicago Tribune.

The meeting in Princeton on the 1st instant, to organize an Owen Lovejoy Monument Association, agreed upon a plan of organization, and elected a full board of officers, as follows:

President—John H. Bryant, Princeton, Ill.
Secretary—C. C. Mason.
Treasurer—F. W. Waller.
Executive Committee—John A. Andrew, Boston, Mass.; Wm. C. Bryant, New York; Lewis Tappan, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Francis Gillett, Hartford, Conn.; Rev. Samuel Wolcott, Cleveland, Ohio; Chauncey S. Cotton, Galesburg, Ill.; Philo Carpenter, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. H. L. Hammond, Chicago, Ill.; David L. Hugh, La Salle, Ill.; Williamson Durley, Hennepin, Ill.; Mark M. Aikin, Peoria, Ill.; Chauncey D. Colton, Princeton, Ill.; James B. Smith, Princeton, Ill.; Rev. F. Bascom, Princeton, Ill.; James M. Allan, Geneseo, Ill.; Jesse W. Fell, Bloomington, Ill.; John Wood, Quincey, Ill.; Andrew McFarland, Jacksonville, Ill.; Wait Talcott, Rockford, Ill.; S. B. French, Malden, Ill.

When the officers had been unanimously chosen, an opportunity was given those who felt able or were prepared to contribute to this fund. The chair announced that more than $5,000 had been raised. Great cheering greeted this announcement. Not less than $50,000 will be required to erect a suitable monument. Two-thirds of this sum will be raised in this Congressional district. But a thorough system of canvassing will be adopted.

Your correspondent was not able to secure copies of all the speeches made during the day. But the great audience were pleased and satisfied. The following is a full report of Mr. Bryant's address—the first that very eminent gentleman ever delivered in Illinois:

SPEECH OF WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: After what has been said in your hearing, and so admirably said, with so much feeling and with so much eloquence, I can hardly expect that this audience will listen with patience to anything I am about to say. I shall therefore say very little. I know not, my friends, what form this project to erect a monument to the memory of Owen Lovejoy may take, in what material it may be wrought, or how its design may be fashioned. But let me express the hope that the contributions will be large enough and liberal enough to allow you to erect in this beautiful neighborhood—where Owen Lovejoy settled long ago, and where he labored so long and so effectually to form and purify public opinion—a suitable monument, in ever-during bronze, a material so indestructible that an image formed by Tubal Cain himself, the world's earliest artificer in brass and iron, might have lasted undecayed in the present time (cheers). In this durable material I would hope that sculpture might exert the utmost efforts in representing his features and impressing upon them their grand expression of high resolution, undaunted courage and unflinching perseverance (loud cheers.) And then, my friends, an inhabitant of Princeton, standing near it and pointing it out to a stranger, might say to him, "That monument was erected to the memory of one who was a champion of the cause of universal liberty in that time past when the cause of universal liberty was feeble and despised. Behold how the hand that framed him stamped upon his manly brow the seal of a vigorous mind, an undaunted heart and unshaken constancy. He saw his brother, a previous champion in that noble cause, struck down and murdered before his eyes, and at that very moment, on that very spot, he devoted himself to the cause of universal freedom; to that cause he gave the labors of his life, to that the labors of his life were devoted, and to it his life was at last sacrificed. He knew that he should encounter scorn, obloquy, opposition. He feared them not. He met them; he defied them; he overcame them. He outlived the scorn; he lived down the obloquy; he fought down the opposition. He saw the great cause in which he was engaged on the eve of a glorious triumph. Before he died he saw it—not as Moses saw the promised land, at a distance. He saw it at his very feet. He saw it as Joshua saw the land of Palestine when he crossed the river Jordan, from the thirsty regions of Moab, and planted his steps on a soil fresh with the dews and flowers of heaven."

Then if the person whom I imagine to speak were in the habit of drawing broad conclusions from particular instances, and deducing solemn and sublime moralities from the practical aspect of things, he might go on to say:

"Let no man who looks at this monument ever be discouraged in a good cause. Let him first satisfy his conscience as to the merits of his cause, its truth, its righteousness, its humanity. Let him satisfy himself that he is in the line of his duty, and then let him enter upon it fearlessly with a heart assured that he is approved of his God, that his labor will be crowned with success, that his cause will finally triumph. For evil is temporary; evil is mortal; it is doomed by a necessity of its nature to yield to dissolution. But good is permanent, deathless, eternal, destined to prevail over all oppression, and sure of a glorious triumph; for God is with it."

There is a portion of the liturgy of the Episcopal Church which has always seemed to me exceedingly beautiful and affecting. It is that in which the worshippers give thanks to Almighty God for the lives of those who have labored or suffered for the truth, and have passed away; leaving worthy and shining examples of self-sacrifice and of goodness for the imitation of mankind. A monument like the one of which I have spoken erected in the neighborhood, in some conspicuous place, would be a standing, visible, perpetual acknowledgment of public gratitude to the Author of all Good that such a man as Owen Lovejoy lived, that such a citizen was given to this country (loud and prolonged cheers).

The principal address was by the Rev. I. Codding of Wisconsin. It was a brilliant production, abounding in happy and spirited passages. It gave a full view of the public course of Mr. Lovejoy with many interesting anecdotes of his life. The speech of President Sturtevant, of Illinois College, was delivered with great feeling and effect. Clever speeches were made by Col. F. A. Eastman of Chicago, and W. T. Allen of Geneseo. The following letter from Mr. Lincoln was among others, read to the assembly:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 30, 1864.

"HON. JOHN H. BRYANT—My Dear Sir: Yours of the 14th instant, inclosing a card of invitation to a preliminary meeting contemplating the erection of a monument to the memory of Hon. Owen Lovejoy, was duly received. As you anticipate, it will be out of my power to attend. Many of you have known Mr. Lovejoy longer than I have, and are better able than I to do his memory justice. My personal acquaintance with him commenced only about ten years ago, since when it has been quite intimate; and every step in it has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending with his life, in no less than affection on my part. It can be truly said of him that while he was personally ambitious, he bravely endured the obscurity which the unpopularity of his principles imposed, and never accepted official honors until those honors were ready to admit his principles with him. Throughout my heavy and perplexing responsibilities here to the day of his death it would scarcely wrong any other to say he was my most generous friend. Let him have the marble monument, along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty unselfishly for all men.

"Yours truly, A. LINCOLN."

THE FREEDMEN'S CAMP IN ALABAMA.

Five hundred emancipated blacks are now organized in "camps" in northern Alabama, under the superintendence of Lieut. Joseph H. Harris, of Illinois. A correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, who has visited these people, thus describes their condition:

"Superintendent Harris's camps are six in number at present, extending along the Alabama and Tennessee Railroad from Columbia to Decatur through a garden spot. They are located upon deserted and confiscated plantations. Most of the able-bodied freedmen go into the *Corps d' Afrique*; but there remain large numbers of useful old men, strong, muscular women, accustomed to work in the field, and children. In their earliest history these camps were not self-supporting, and only intended as a refuge. They were supplied with clothing, rations and quarters at an immense expense to the government.

"The organization of the camps is systematic. There are at present in Lieut. Harris's charge about five thousand contrabands, and he has under cultivation about two thousand acres, embracing one thousand acres of cotton and the rest in corn, potatoes, wheat and gardens. The Lieutenant is ably assisted by trustworthy non-commissioned officers and soldiers, practical farmers detailed from their respective regiments. Each has his own department, and is held strictly accountable for the faithful and prompt discharge of his duties. Every branch of industry of a colony is in operation. There are sawmills, gristmills, blacksmith, cabinet, carpenter, shoe, tailor, dressmaker shops, etc. From the extensive gardens vegetables are issued fairly and systematically to the contrabands, and sometimes to the neighboring military hospitals. They are kept in good order by infirm and old negroes. The hum of the spinning wheel and the clatter of the reel and loom resounds from the labor of the old woman. Little girls are busily applying the knitting-needle; young women, too delicate for the field, are seamstresses for others who wield the hoe and guide the plough. Everything is harmonious. The negroes are industrious and ambitious. They come promptly to roll call, receive their orders for the day, repair to the field, and there perform their duties faithfully without driver, without curse, or kick, or lash, humming merrily, perhaps, "de year of jubilo."

"Lieut. Harris commenced these camps on small beginnings. The first funds were raised by hiring his force to neighboring planters. Gradually a large fund has been raised, and now even the tools for his government farms he buys, and even the nails for building barracks without drawing on the government or the Quartermaster's Department for a single dollar or article. The fund to be raised on the present corps will establish more camps with complete outfits as the army advances.

"Primary schools are a prominent feature. I have seen five hundred little black children together with their spelling-books, as apt and tractable as white children. They are instructed in music, accompanied by a piano. The young idea is taught how to shoot, and so far as these children are concerned, the next generation will be an advance. The adults also study in evenings, and in every cabin may the spelling-book be seen passing from hand to hand. Throughout the whole race there is a strong desire for intellectual improvement.

"A furnishing store is in the main camp. Here the negroes can go and suit their tastes—the articles taken being charged to their wages. The largest item issued has been fourteen hundred Webster's spelling books.

"Religious exercises are regular and encouraged and attended by Lieut. Harris and his subordinates with commendable sincerity. The Sabbath is a day of good order, quiet and rest.

"To conclude, I must say that I have never known a community of the number of these camps with so much peace and harmony or so much usefulness accomplished, and these conditions can be extended, if there be land, to the whole race. Lieut. Harris, I have learned, purposes soon issuing his views in a book, which will be of interest to the entire body of freedom's friends."

CRUEL TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

On the fifth of May the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War examined at Annapolis a number of poor fellows in almost the last stages of exhaustion, one of whom died shortly after he had been questioned. These men were soldiers of the United States; they had been prisoners of war in the South; when they fell into the hands of the rebels they were stout, hearty men; one said that he never took medicine till he had been some weeks in the hands of the rebels. They were returned to us after a few months so wan, so wasted away, so prostrated and broken down with suffering, want, and ill-treatment, that as we look at photographs of some of them, now lying before us, it seems incredible life could remain in such attenuated bodies, about whose bones the skin has shrunk so tightly that every joint shows. We shudder and grow sick as we look, and do not wonder that one of the Committee, a gentleman often amongst the wounded both in hospital and on the battle-fields of Virginia, on his return from this inspection fainted away, and had himself to be put under a physician's care.

As we look at the melancholy pictures, we feel how tame are all descriptions of these sufferers, and how inadequate are the particulars which are drawn from them regarding their treatment. Brady or some other enterprising photographer would do a service to the country by multiplying, in *cartes de visite*, the pictures of these emaciated forms, that the men and women at home, and the soldiers in our armies, may learn what inhuman monsters are those slave lords under whose eyes and by whose commands such sufferings and wrongs are imposed upon prisoners of war.

The unanimous testimony of these men is, that [illegible] first made prisoners they were robbed of their blankets, shoes, money, and in some cases of all their good clothing, rags being given them in return. They were borne to prison, encamping on the way in open, unsheltered spots, travelling in cattle cars full of filth and uncleansed since they were last occupied by hogs or cattle; compelled to stay in these close and disgusting cars all night; fed with a small piece of corn bread and an occasional piece of tainted meat. At Belle Isle they were forced to sleep on the bare ground, having been robbed of their coats and blankets; received daily a small square of black corn-bread, made of corn and cobs ground up together, with sometimes a few spoonfuls of black and wormy beans, or a piece of meat, "three bites" some said, often rotten, stinking, "with bugs in it." In hospital the surgeons attended on them irregularly; one man, whose toes were frozen off at Belle Isle, when sent to the hospital at Richmond had his feet dressed sometimes but once in five or six days. If men ventured near the windows they were instantly shot.

The surgeons in charge at Annapolis testify distinctly that the state of these men arose not from disease, but from starvation and exposure. Surgeon Van Derkieff testifies on oath:

"They complained of want of food, of bad food and a want of clothing. Very often, though not always, they are robbed, when taken prisoners, of all the good clothes they have on. There is no doubt about that, for men then often arrived here with nothing but their pants and shirts on; no coat, overcoat, no cap, no shoes or stockings, and some of them without having had any opportunities to wash themselves for weeks and months, so that when they arrive here the scurf on their skin is one-eighth of an inch thick; and we have had several cases of men who have been shot for the slightest offence. There is a man now here who at one time put his hand out of the privy, which was nothing but a window in the wall, to steady himself and keep himself from falling, and he was shot, and we have been obliged to amputate his arm since he arrived here. These men complain that they have had no shelter. We have men here now who say that for five or six months they have been compelled to lie on the sand. I have no doubt about the correctness of their statements, for the condition of their skins shows the statements to be true. Their joints are calloused, and they have callouses on their backs, and some have even had the bones break through the skin. There is one instance in particular that I would mention. One man died in the hospital there one hour before the transfer of prisoners was made, and as an act of humanity the surgeon in charge of the hospital allowed the friends of this man to take him on board the vessel in order to have him buried among his friends. This man was brought here right from the Richmond hospital. He was so much covered with vermin and so dirty that we were not afraid to make the statement that the man had not been washed for six months. Now, as a material circumstance to prove that these men have been badly fed, I will state that we must be very careful in feeding them when they arrive here, for a very light diet is too much for them at first."

They were, he represented, "dirty, filthy, covered with vermin, dying. At one time we received three hundred and sixty patients in one day, and fourteen died within twelve hours; and there were six bodies of those who had died on board the transport that brought them up here"; and the cause of their death was "extreme debility, the result of starvation and exposure." When we add that by general testimony the prisoners are treated better at Dalton, Columbia and elsewhere, than in and near Richmond, and that only under the eyes of the rebel chiefs are the jailors persistently cruel and barbarous, the reader will understand that it is not chance which causes this suffering.—*Evening Post.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE PICTURE.

Respectfully Inscribed to Teachers of Contrabands in the Southern States.

BY GEORGE B. PECK, M.D.

Oh! a picture came before me
Of a million broken chains,
Lying cankered with old blood-drops
Which had oozed from tortured veins,
Reddening the fleecy cotton
Snowed upon the Southern plains.
And the picture's tints grew deeper,
Redder, blacker, as I gazed,
And my weak knees smote together,
And my eyes grew dim and glazed
At the vision's spectred horrors
From the graves of vengeance raised.

For where live-oaks and magnolias
Gloom the earth with densest shades,
Where the snake and alligator
Lurk in endless everglades,
Where the cloud-lace-fretted sunset
Lingering, longest night evades,
Where the eagle builds his eyrie
Nearest to the fervid skies,
Where the buzzard swoops to fatten
On the prey that lingering dies,
Where the bloodhound's hellish baying
Stills the hunted bondman's cries,
There uprose, all ghostly shadowed,
Hosts of wasted, haggard forms,
And their wild eyes glared and glittered
Like heaven's fire in dark-browed storms,
And with arms outstretched towards me
They came rushing in thick swarms.
And I saw upon their foreheads
Letters where the iron burned,
And their backs left gashed and harrowed
Where the lash for life-blood yearned,
And their lank limbs, fester-eaten,
Showed where gnawing shackles turned.
There were gaunt and frenzied mothers
With wan children in their arms,
There were youths, and there were maidens,
Curses, tears, and wild alarms,
There were auction-blocks and hammers
Where were bartered beauty's charms.

And my heart felt chill within me,
And my frighted blood congealed,
As my soul's eye raised the shadows
Which, like curtains, half concealed
Deeper horrors, depths of anguish
Left till God's day unrevealed!
And my soul went up in sighing
To God's ear: "And Thou dost know,
High and Holy! men are devils,
Earth, like hell, is drowned in woe?"
Came an answer: "But my war-blast
Hath dealt sin a staggering-blow!"

"Father! though the chains be broken,"
Cried my soul, "the wounds remain
Deeper than the irons wore them,
'Neath the brow, within the brain,
'Neath the body, in the spirit;
Is thy war-blast not in vain?
How shall knowledge, how shall virtue
Dwell with ignorance and sin?
Where is found that earthly saintship
Can consort with devils' din?
Who the saintly, self-denying
Through-hell's door would look within,
E'en to save the devil's victims,
Snatch them from the cooling flames,
Kiss with love their long-charred spirits,
Breathe new souls into their names,
Wing them to the climes supernal,
And to angels' loud acclaims?"

Came an answer: "Lo! I call them,
Ministers of love, I call!"
Then I waited in God's silence,
With God waited over all,
Till I knew how he forgetteth
No one worthy, great or small.

For I saw from where the ocean
Drifts its rhythms to the beach,
From where mountain snows eternal
Far towards heaven as stainless reach,
From where gold and russet harvests
Of God's whelming bounty teach,
From where all are always freemen,
From where colleges and schools
Free the mind from Old World trammels,
Unfit men for tyrants' tools,
From where firesides and altars
Govern hearts with golden rules,
Came, as flowers come in Spring-time,
Dropt from Winter's icy hand,
Came to cheer, to teach, to brighten,—
God's commissioned, shining band,
Came, with hands and hearts o'erflowing,
To renew the Southern land!
And I watched how spirit-anguish
Songs and smiles soon soothed, allayed,
And how soul-wounds, touched by kindness,
As by Christ, could heal and fade,
And how darkness fled affrighted
Where these angels wept and prayed!

And my soul went up in praising
To God's ear: "Yea, Thou dost know,
High and Holy! men are devils,
Earth like hell is drowned in woe,
But thy war-blast, in thy mercy,
Hath dealt sin a staggering blow!"

Norfolk, Va., April, 1864.

SUFFERINGS OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS.

FREDERICKSBURG, Va., May 26.

The sufferings of our men are said not to be greater than after other battles; but whether this is so or not, the nation has a terrible account to render on this score to Him who is now sweeping our land with the besom of destruction for our national sins. What our men have suffered here from want of care is simply indescribable, inconceivable, while those whom the government and Miss Dix have graciously permitted to come to their aid have generally worked to the limit of human endurance. It is a terrible burlesque on woman to have one of their number placed, by the government, as a breakwater against which the high tides of maternal sympathy break in their strong efforts to come to the starving, tortured, and maggot-eaten men who look eagerly up and wail out "Mother!" in their blinding, maddening anguish. No *man* in this or any other government could have stood between the bereaved mothers of this land and the sons they have borne and given to their country—stood between them through the past terrible three weeks; and so the responsibility was thrown on Miss Dix, who has been fully equal to the occasion. To those who have begged, with tears and prayers that might melt a stone, for the privilege of coming to minister to their dying hours, she has presented the to her insurmountable objection of the value of "every ounce of food," while hundreds of pounds of crackers and beef have lain untasted on the filthy floors, and been scraped up and thrown into sinks and cesspools, because those to whom they were issued were too weak to raise them to their famishing lips.

The reason given for not permitting female nurses to aid the men, unless commissioned by Miss Dix, is, to prevent women of bad character getting into the army. Since coming here I have been more or less intimately associated with full twenty ladies laboring in various ways to ameliorate the suffering. Of these only two were Miss Dix's nurses. One of these is a self-conscious, simpering, black-eyed, peaky-nosed widow, whose every word and motion invites admiration. The other is a buxom, red-faced lass of thirty-five, with opaque, insincere, brown eyes, almond-shaped, and who slept in the state-room of a half-drunk steamboat-captain, in whose arms I surprised her next day, while the boat was covered with its groaning mass of mangled bodies, and the other lady-nurses slept, what little they did sleep, together, in the ladies' cabin, where there were six empty berths.

These two are the only women I have met here, nursing soldiers, who did not appear to me to be actuated by the purest motives, and to be beyond the reach of suspicion; yet they alone were selected by Miss Dix, and those are by no means the only instances in which her selections have been unfortunate in this respect. But how could any one expect a maiden lady of sixty to be a judge of character in this particular, of which she is constituted Inspector-General? That element of suspicion which makes her look upon youth and beauty as evidences of depravity shows a want of comprehension of her own sex which must make her the dupe of cant and all manner of matured, designing women. That thousands and thousands of our soldiers have died of neglect occasioned by her want of sympathy with their sufferings and insight into character, I am fully satisfied. Age and ugliness are no tests of efficiency or purity. God bless the fair young faces who are lighting these melancholy death-beds and shedding their drops of comfort into this ocean of human agony! I watch some of them go through their arduous work with an enthusiasm and unconsciousness which cannot fail to bring all within their reach into nearer communion with the angels disembodied.—*New Nation.* JANE G. SWISSHELM.

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF THE AMERICAN WOMEN'S "COVENANT."

The London *Daily News* devotes a sensible leading article to the anti-luxury movement of the women of the United States concluding thus:

"As far as we can judge there will be little difference of opinion on this side of the water on any part of the case. The recent profuse expenditure in dress and luxury has not been a spectacle agreeable to the moral taste of the real friends of the republic, however clearly they may see it to be a natural consequence of an inflated currency and an abnormal war expenditure. It would, therefore, please the friends of the Northern cause to see a style of manners prevailing more accordant with the solemn and tragic character of the time. So far, their sympathy will be with the motive of the League. Nor would this feeling be impaired by any fear of the economical consequences in Europe. Nothing that can be done by any voluntary association can stop the drain of gold from any country when its disproportion to other circulating media has reached a certain point. The gold will run out till the balance of the currency is restored. And it will bring in a proportionate amount of European commodities in return, whether those imports are of one character or another. If not silks, laces, and cigars, it will be something else that is wanted—arms and ammunition, hardware, woolens, or colonial products. The merchants and the much dreaded 'speculators' will take care that intercourse does not cease; and the laws of nature and society will take care that commodities shall find their way where they are wanted, past all barriers of conventional exclusion. We had all rather see the freedman cared for, and the wounded and bereaved tended and sustained, than fine ladies glittering with diamonds while evading the penalties of the war; but the total amount of exchange will scarcely be affected by such mutations of taste and habit. And we will venture to assure all good citizens in the republic that they have nothing to fear from our manufacturers, operatives and artisans, whatever course expenditure may take in the Northern States. After the proof of the temper of the Lancashire people which the cotton famine has afforded, it is rather strange that any Northern citizen should imagine that friends could be turned into enemies by any effect this League could produce on the silk and lace manufactures. Intervention will not take place a day sooner for anything the League may do or design; and if we do not believe that its members will modify the operation of economic laws, we shall have hearty sympathy for every act of self-denial and devotedness by which the woes of the war will be assuaged, and its consequences lightened to posterity."

COLORPHOBIA IN ST. LOUIS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

I find the steps of Freedom in Missouri still forward—haltingly, but still onward. I was talking with a slaveholder from Coles County. Said he: "I had four negroes, and their wives and children. I told the boys I would give them $100 per annum and their freedom at the end of the year if they would remain to work my crop. They declined. I took them to the enrolling office, got a certificate for $300, and had them enlisted. The women went to town and made their living by washing. I would be glad to see slavery banished from Missouri. It is nothing but a curse." This I find the common sentiment now, as far as I have conversed with slaveholders—it is, that slavery is unprofitable. The idea that it is wrong, and that the negro is a man, and entitled to all the rights of a man, is not admitted yet. On the contrary, they charge his ignorance and incapacity, not to the degradation consequent on slavery, but to his black skin!

Dr. Nelson brought this opinion to a practical test at the Fair. One department is for the Freedmen. Hundreds of young ladies aid in the general object of the Fair. Some wait on the tables in the refreshment saloon. Dr. Nelson was visited by two intelligent freedmen—"American citizens of African descent." He took them to see the lions of the Fair (the main lions being a set of American eagles), and in the natural course of things took them with him to a table in the refreshment saloon. Young-ladydom was intensely shocked and insulted at the call to wait on negroes. A negro waiter was called, and he declined to wait on the "white trash," so associated.

Finally the priestess of the temple told Dr. Nelson that he must leave; and he did, taking with him those "images of God carved in ebony," which gave such umbrage to those "carved in ivory" and inlaid with gold. This incident has given rise to much discussion. Yesterday, passing on the street, I heard an Irish woman, an "American female of Irish descent," saying to her friends: "Sure, and didn't they bring in nagurs into the Fair and treat them just like white folks? That's what the Abolitionists are bringin' on us." The secesh rejoice to be able to charge the Unionists with miscegenation, and most of the Unionists repel the charge of recognizing the negro as an equal with indignation. "Let him be a soldier," say they, "but as for being an officer or an equal—never." Let some Hannibal or Geffrard rise from the ranks and vindicate the natural right of superior natures to the command, and they will say: "He may be an officer, but not a voter or a Governor." The idea of caste is as strong as in India. As the East Indians would not grease their cartridges with tallow—would die first—so some men, rather than have the negro elevated to manhood, would let their country go to ruin.

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT TO JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

A meeting of citizens of Montreal was held at Mechanics' Hall on the 6th instant, to adopt measures of respect to the memory of Joshua R. Giddings. The Mayor presided. Addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Cordner, Rev. Doctor Wilkes, A. M. Delisle, William Wakeman, J. J. Day and Rev. Mr. Bonar. Mr. Giddings was declared worthy to be named with Clarkson and Wilberforce. The following resolutions were made and advocated in turn, and then adopted:

Resolved, That in view of the sudden decease in our midst of Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, United States Consul-General for British North America, and the necessary removal of his remains to the home of his family in Ohio, before his friends and the public of Montreal could offer any testimony of respect to his memory, we desire through this meeting to express our high regard for his admirable qualities of character, and our appreciation of his great services in the cause of human rights, by his active and consistent opposition to slavery throughout a lengthened public career.

Resolved, That we very respectfully tender to his widow and family our profound sympathy in this hour of their bereavement and trial, and assure them of the affectionate regard in which the memory of Mr. Giddings is held by his many friends in this city.

Resolved, That in the discharge of his arduous duties as United States Consul-General, his whole course of conduct was marked by a sincere desire to secure the utmost harmony between Canada and the United States, and that in his personal intercourse with our citizens he gained for himself many friends, who deeply deplore his loss, and sympathize with his family in their sad bereavement; and that, as a mark of respect for his memory, a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to them.

LETTER FROM HON. WM. H. SEWARD.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1864.

Charles S. Spencer, Esq., New York.

DEAR SIR: Your invitation to the Ratification meeting is received. I did not fail to come up in time to the support of the candidates of Union and Freedom in 1848, 1852, 1856 and 1860. I shall not fail to come up in time, if wanted, in 1864. But it is not now certain that I shall be wanted at all, and I am sure that I am not wanted yet. So far as an expression of my concurrence in the nominations and platform is concerned, everybody knows that, substantially, I was committed in detail to all that the Convention has now done, long before a delegate was chosen, and even long before the Convention itself was called. The secret of the success of the Convention is, that the American people are a wise, true and liberty-loving and humane nation, and, being such, it could, under the existing circumstances, do nothing, and say nothing, more or less, than just what the Convention has now spoken in its name, and has recommended shall be done. For the present let the people send men and supplies to the national armies in the field, and thus enable them "to fight it out on the same lines if it takes all Summer." The election of Lincoln and Johnson, at the close of a successful campaign, will then speak the people's decision, that slavery has perished and that the American Union is invincible.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

A COTTON PLANTATION.

The contributor of the following article, having served some time in the army, went upon a plantation in the southern limit of Tennessee, and sends the following interesting account to the Cincinnati *Gazette*, written on the 4th of April.

I will describe it as I found it. It had been one of the finest plantations in this part of the State of Tennessee. The late owner—who died about two years ago at the age of eighty-five—was rich and (in the Southern sense) intelligent; and is said by his negroes and his neighbors to have been a humane master. The reader will find the term *humane*, in its Southern meaning, to differ somewhat from the Northern acceptation. The farm—always called "plantation" here—contains about 3,000 acres of land. There were nearly 200 negroes belonging to it. The mansion is a large frame house, old and dingy, two stories high, with a wide hall for the sake of ventilation, running through the lower story from east to west. In the rear of the mansion, the negro quarters—miserable, dark, one roomed log cabins—form three sides of a quadrangle. The stables were long, low log buildings, without granaries or lofts for hay or fodder. No such thing as a cellar exists on the place. As we drive up the road toward "the house," we are astonished at the number of "nigger" women and children, who literally swarm out of the quarters to watch us. "Watch" is the word. The young ones, from two years old up to adults, cluster around closely, impede our steps, peer into every box, barrel and package, and chatter away like as many living monkies. Some in their excitement turn summersaults, roll over, kick up their heels and yell. One feels constantly apprehensive that the mules will step on a little "nigger." But no! they always just barely escape. The older negroes, women of all ages from maturity up, and a few old men (the able bodied males are nearly all in the armies, or escaped North) stand off with folded arms and sullen, suspicious looks. I know what they are thinking about, for I can overhear occasionally, such words as "looks like secesh," "'spec he's a nigger-driver," etc. Poor creatures! their hard lot in life, and cruel treatment at the hands of white people, have taught them to dread all changes, and suspect all whites.

Bless my soul! I did not notice it before, but little niggers swarm from the *mansion* as they do from the *quarters*. I call up a man and ask him:

"Do all these niggers belong to this estate?"

"Lor! no, mass'r; dey is conterbans."

"How many contrabands are here?"

"Dunno, mass'r; der's a heap on 'em. De missis she's crowded out de house, and gone; and de Yankees dey makes a corrall of de place."

I go to the house, and find every room crowded with niggers, and filthy beyond endurance. By great efforts I succeeded in clearing out two rooms and packing the occupants into other quarters, and get some women to scrub and clean thus much of the house for my residence. In the meantime, my men have unloaded the wagons and locked up our stock and property of every kind in outhouses—mere shells, remnants of the smoke-houses, etc. They are sufficient, however, for security against the negroes. For while it is lamentably true that nearly every slave will *pilfer* whenever an opportunity to do so presents itself, they will *very* rarely use any force, however slight, to steal.

I have now leisure to look around the place, and taking Ben, a sprightly negro, with me as a guide and informant, I started on my tour of inspection.

Immediately in the rear of the house, I notice two great pits dug, and a large number of hoppers, such as country people of the North use for leaching ashes, ranged around the pits and filled with red clay. I ask Ben what they are intended for.

"Why, mass'r, dem's to make salt wid. You see, for more'n a year 'fore de Yankees come we couldn't git no salt. So we dug war the smoke-houses used to be, and run water through de clay what 'sorbed de drippin's from de meat, and biled it down to get salt again."

"Did you make much salt in that way?"

"Oh, yes, mass'r; we made about a bushel to de hopper."

Well, thought I, as we walked on, the article of salt did not filter very freely through Lincoln's "paper blockade," at any rate.

For a quarter of a mile around the house I find scarcely the vestige of a fence. Even the cedar posts of the picket fence around the gardens are cut off at the ground, and gone. I ask Ben if the Yankees have burned up the fences and the gin house, the ruins of which and many bales of cotton we passed.

"Well," said he, "the Yankees burnt some, but de niggers burnt nearly all of it; and the niggers burnt the gin, and about a hundred bales of cotton."

"What did they do so for?"

"Well, dey burnt the gin and cotton for spite I 'spect. De fences dey burn for firewood."

"But," said I, "there is better firewood all around the plantation."

"Yes, mass'r, but *'taint so handy, quite.*"

"How do the niggers live here, Ben?"

"Well, pretty comfort'ble."

"But what do they get to eat?"

"Why, you see, mass'r, der was plenty corn down in de bottom fields, and dey gets it ground at de mill de Yankees is a runnin, and missus she had a power of hogs and cattle 'bout here, and dey isn't *quite* gone yit."

I now noticed in the distance a large field of unpicked cotton, and asked Ben why it was left ungathered, to rot in the rains and waste by the winds.

"Why it's her'n," said he.

"Whose?"

"Why, missus'. Lor' bless you, mass'r, the niggers is'nt 'gwine to work no more *for her.*"

"Won't she pay them for picking it cut?"

"Well, she *says* she will. She's offered to pay 'em a dollar a hundred for picking of it, but dey does'nt like to trust her."

"Would'nt she keep her word with them?"

"Dunno', mass'r. 'Spect she would'if de Yankees stay close 'bout here."

"Well, will they pick it out for me, if I promise one dollar a hundred."

"Dunno', mass'r." De niggers got might ca'sus. *Is you a Yankee, shure 'nuff?*"

"Yes, Ben, I'm a real Yankee, and expect to hire the niggers to work for me this year. I expect to pay those I hire good wages for their work, and to pay the money to *them*, and not their missus. But they must work, and will be only paid for the work they do; not for the time they 'shirk.' Do you think they will work on these terms?"

"Dunno', mass'r. Dey's mighty ca'sus. 'Spect mebbe some on 'em will; *spec'ally if dey can't get no more corn ground by de Yankees.*" And Ben gave a knowing grin as he added this hint.

After finding, to my great satisfaction, that there were more fields under fence that I can possibly cultivate this year, I returned to the house and established my quarters for the season, making our two rooms look like *home* more than I thought possible with our meagre furniture and utensils. WEG.

A CONTRABAND PRAYER MEETING.

A correspondent of the Burlington *Free Press* gives an account of a Freedmen's meeting at Belle Plain, Va. Some of the negro prayers and exhortations were very simple and touching. One said in his prayer: "O Lord, we'a glad for de hour when our sins nailed us to de foot of de cross, and de bressed Lord Jesus put his soft arm around us, and tole us dat we's his chillen; we's glad we's sinners, so dat we can be saved by his grace." Another thus earnestly prayed for the army of freedom: "O Lord, bress de Union army; be thou their bulwarks and ditches. O Lord, as thou didst hear our prayer when we's down in de Souf country, as we held de plow and de hoe in the hot sun, so hear our prayer at dis time for de Union army. Guard 'em on de right and on de lef' and in de rear; don't let' 'em 'lone, though they's mighty wicked." Another (a young man) thus energetically desired the overthrow of Satan's empire: "O Lord, if you please, sir, won't you come forth out of de heaven and take ride 'round about hell and give it a mighty shake till de walls fall down."

A venerable exhorter got the story of the prodigal son slightly mixed, but not so as to damage the effect at all. He said: "He rose up and went to his fader's house. And I propose he was ragged. And I propose de road dirty. But when his fader saw him coming over de hill, ragged and dirty, he didn't say: 'Dat ain't my son.' He go and meet him. He throw his arms round his neck and kiss, and while he was hugging and kissing him he thought of dat robe in de wardroom, and he said, 'Bring dat robe and put it on him,' and when dey was a putting on de robe, he thought of de ring, dat slendid ring, and he said, 'My son, dat was dead and is alive again, he like dat ring, cos it shine so,' and he made dem bring de ring and put it on his hand, and he put shoes on his feet and killed de fatted calf; and here my friends see de 'fection of de prodigal for his son. But, my bredren, you are a great deal better off dan de prodigal's son. For he hadn't no gemmen of a different color to come and tell him dat his fader was glad to hab him come home again. But dese handmaid bredren has kindly come dis evening to tell us dat our heabenly Father wants us to come back now. He's ready to gib us de robe and de ring. De bressed Lord Jesus stands leaning over de bannisters of heaven and reaching down his arms to take us up. O, my friends, I ask you dis night to repent. If you lose your soul you'll never get anoder. I tell you all, if you don't repent you're goin' straight to hell; and in de last day, when de Lord say to you, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlastin' fire,' if you're 'onorable, you'll own up and say its right. O, my friends, I tell you de truth; it de best way to come to de Lord Jesus dis night."

LETTER FROM RICHARD COBDEN.

[The Philadelphia *Press* publishes the following letter from Mr. Cobden, addressed to a gentleman in that city:]

We are looking anxiously for the news from your side of the next campaign. For myself I have never considered that the result of your terrible civil war was to be decided by fighting alone. It is the organization of the South, through the operation of the war on the African race, that I have always regarded as the real source of the weakness and danger of the Confederates. But for this cause to have full effect requires time.

During that time I fear you will be incurring an enormous expenditure and accumulating a terrible debt. This is not all; I am afraid, while the government is nec